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THE CLASH BETWEEN OLD AND NEW VALUES IN THE FRENCH-CANADIAN NOVEL

By Gerhard Bachert, Geneva College

Throughout the various currents of ideas which naturally overlap at times during the first half of the present century, certain stages seem to be noticeable in the evolution of the French-Canadian novel. These become more and more pronounced as the years move on. The interpretation of life that the authors present to us forms a certain organic unity whose features change and manifest the psychological and religious evolution, not only of the writers, but also of the Quebec setting that they describe.

The thoughts expressed by the writers lead to two well-defined currents so different in principles that they are irreconcilable. One characteristic fact seems to be well established in the history of the French-Canadian people, namely, that religion has molded the life of this national group and is intimately bound up with it. To state the matter more precisely, religion is truly the soul of French Canada; it was religion that inspired her and gave her so much force that the small French group of 1760, threatened with extinction after the conquest by the British, increased until it could take an enviable place among the nations.

It is not astonishing to find, during the fifty years which are discussed in this article, writers whose work is filled with an unshakable faith. On the other hand, it is still more striking that other writers express an entirely opposite conception in which not only is religious faith absent, but confidence in the future of Quebec has either disappeared or has been replaced by a kind of indifference. These two philosophic trends are not apparent at the beginning of the century. The evolution of the minds and above all the freedom of expression progress very slowly, as the authors still seem to languish under the crushing blow they had received in 1880. The vicissitudes suffered at that time by the Canadian Institute, Montreal, the mouthpiece of the movement, are described by M. Trudel in his book, The Influence of Voltaire in Canada.[1]

At the beginning of 1900 there are not many novels, and they represent above all an idealistic rendering of a simple family life in the country parish under the undisputed leadership of the country priest, usually a kind person. The black sheep is found in the city, and the authors use him only to bring out by contrast the Christian virtues practiced by the good people who follow religious teachings. Even such a nonconformist as Rodolphe Girard accepts the demands of the religious influence, and the vulgarity of certain of his characters does not prevent them from being on good terms with the Church. A historical novel by Laure Conan (Félicité Angers), L'Oublié,[2] is set in the Catholic atmosphere, although the subject matter comes from early American times. In it the author

exhibits her religious convictions and pleads in favor of the Catholic cause at a period when Protestant materialism was gaining a foothold in America. It is not important to determine whether Félicité Angers wanted to show the contrast between two religious groups and beliefs, or whether, as a Catholic, she quite naturally followed her inspiration by choosing a Catholic subject. The important fact is that, from this moment on, the insistence of the authors on the spiritual aspect is a common mark of those who, through their writings, want to influence their readers.

On the side of Protestant materialism stands French atheism, and it is against these two baleful dangers that the efforts are directed, to prevent them from bringing about the ruin of the faithful Quebec. National pride goes hand in hand with the affirmation of religious values. This defense movement, this war-cry against unbelief, will be heard until 1930, when French-Canadian thought appears to become confused as a result of the overthrow of habitual ideas by the First World War and the economic crisis.

The Abbé Groulx becomes the leader of this nationalistic movement. He is going to do his utmost to give to the French-Canadians a reason for conserving their Catholic mentality and help them find their political unity. This concept of a Catholic French-Canada, laid down by the Abbé Groulx, is expressed in the novels of the nationalistic writers of that period. He himself, having as his leitmotif the fight for the French language against the Anglo-Protestants, formulates his thoughts of a Quebec according to his ideals in his novel L'Appel de la race .[3] Other writers imitate him in his conviction that the way to follow is by observing the good teachings of the Catholic Church, propagated by the French language in agreement with these words of Christ: "I am the Way and the Life." There are no other roads that lead to happiness and salvation. The stronghold where French-Canadian life must safely be preserved is in the rural districts. People there are protected from the pernicious influences of the cosmopolitan atmosphere in the cities, which scatters the minds instead of grouping them together around the churchtower of the parish, their religious and national symbol. "Peasantry happened to be the principal source of recruitment for the clergy, and the intellectual elite could renew itself with the help of sincere and gifted Christians that the rural population, more than any other group, produced."[4]

It is only gradually that a new influence can be noticed entering into this group of writers, homogeneous until then. Different thoughts are expressed, and the changes that have begun will never again stop. Already, in the period of the Abbé Groulx, divergences appear, but few in number, and even in the period that follows the situation still remains confused. There are still found, outside the new current, writers from the school of the beginning of the century and of the nationalistic school.

This persistent group was opposed by radicals of the type of Jean Charles

Harvey. They wanted to forget what the previous generations accepted and venerated. Their aspirations, new for Quebec, appear premature and of foreign inspiration. A third group of novelists, more numerous, moves in between the nationalists and their adversaries, and their works, in which the conflict of ideas remains in the background, are of literary value only.

The frame of mind, however, keeps on changing; already the sensation created by Les demi-civilisés,[5] which was condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities, has lost its force and we come to the last part of the period under discussion where everything is henceforward expressed freely and openly. Is this under the influence of some of the previous novels? The people of Quebec seem to have adopted a new philosophy of life where the actual life of this world and the life beyond are placed well apart. From 1930 to 1941 the novel shows the growing influence of wealth. Less and less frequently do we find characters in whom the satisfaction of an honest and virtuous life produces happiness or takes its place. They are replaced by others who revolt against religion, speak ill of it, refuse to accept its well-meaning rules, and consequently suffer while looking for another source of happiness. A few writers continue, however, to overlook the general trend of this pattern. They can no longer, however, ignore the influence of money, and this fact is something new in a country formerly so Catholic that money seemed to be a secondary preoccupation. The reign of the credo has given way to the reign of credit. Religious faith more and more often changes places with faith in the power of money. One writer keeps away from this general movement. La Minuit by the Abbé Savard, shows us that the salvation of the poor of this world comes from Christ the Saviour, " because, on a mountain, towards the East, a miraculous, wonderful star had just risen, and, for the poor, a hope that never would be silenced. "[6]

What are the changes that we have noticed during the course of our reading of the novels from 1900 to 1950, as regards certain aspects of French-Canadian life? The fundamental unity of French-Canadian life is certainly the family, placed under the authority and the influence of the parents. These, in the first novels, are God-fearing, believing people living in the country. Their only concern is to teach their children love and respect for God, whose authority is represented by the parents. They themselves accept the way of Providence, when it leads their children to the religious vocation, and they invoke the divine protection of God and of the Virgin Mary for their children if they are threatened by danger or are away from their home. In his preoccupation with protecting the future of the race, the Abbé Groulx insists on an essential condition: similarity of character. In a family whose parents are of a different nationality or religion, no true French-Canadian can be born. Either the Catholic and French-Canadian husband will be dominated by the influence of his mate, and that would mean a catastrophe, as the children are lost to the nationalistic group; or he maintains a Christian and French attitude, and his home is ruined. The best that can happen is that he may succeed in protecting some of his children from the influence of the opposed

faith. A frequent theme in the novels of the second period is the religious and nationalistic unity of husband and wife in order to assure a family where ancient traditions are perpetuated.

The works of the third period give us a different picture of the family. There one meets parents who, without regard to consequences, make their daughter marry a wealthy wretch. One meets also families whose lives are so worldly-minded that the education of their children is left to the priests. Then there are also parents who ridicule the religious fervor inspired in their children by the religious boarding schools. Family life slowly breaks up, adultery comes as a result of an unsatisfactory married life, either husband or wife tries to find happiness outside the home. In addition we see reflections concerning large families destined to destitution and poverty, as portrayed by Ringuet, Desrosiers, and Gabrielle Roy.

Degradation of the family goes even further in the novels of the period between 1940 and 1950. The family has almost entirely lost its role as an educational agency or as a protector in moments of distress or instability. Values which were formerly accepted crumble. The novel describes a world completely opposed to that of the beginning of the century. A cynical realism has replaced Christian charity. The restlessness and anguish brought about through the disappearance of one's purpose in life cause murder and suicide. Or perhaps we see paternal love suddenly awakened again, which will protect, even if only by illegal means, the son who is involved in criminal activities. In this last group of writers we must omit Desrosiers and Trudel and, above all, Savard. La Minuit shows that a family home where the religious spirit is preserved can have profound peace, in spite of death and poverty.

The young generation evolves also, and considerably at that. The early novels depict them as filled with the spirit of duty toward the family and the parish, and respectful toward the authority of the Church. We find only one case of libertinism, a rake who goes as far as attempted fratricide, but who repents before dying. Ordinarily the young girls give little trouble to their parents. The same can be said for the period of the Abbé Groulx. At worst one meets there a young girl who runs away to marry a Protestant, against the wish of her parents. In Berthe et Rosette[7] we have a young woman who turns her back on Catholic morals in order to give herself up to a debauched life in the metropolis where her friend has abandoned her. In the novels of the third period some young folks make sacrifices to assure the happiness of their families, while others, egoistic and depraved, take liberties which are contrary to religious principles. What is most striking amongst these novels, however, is the absence of any remorse in those who are guilty of mistaken ideas and turn from the Church in order to find salvation through their own forces. In the works of the fourth and last period the new mentality of the young generation becomes more and more pronounced. The realism of the writers does not turn back on descriptions of love incidents.

Sexual obsession asserts itself among the adolescents and also among the married people, who have a smaller number of children. As far back as 1930 a love play respected the laws of the Church, but now free love has become a subject that is openly described without any restraint. Martin in Tentations [8] relates experiences of the flesh, so exaggerated that they seem hard to believe. However, the author lets appear the mercy of God, which leads the heroine back into the right path. With the breakdown of moral principles we also notice that the role of the priest, the parish priest of the first novels, disappears gradually. The clergy, appreciated and loved as the mainstay of Quebec, especially during the nationalistic period, loses in importance around 1940. Instead of the love and sympathy which reigned between the clergy and their parishioners, we observe in the characters anguish, lack of ease, and even distrust, the cause of which, according to some authors, is the priests themselves, due to their desire to maintain a hold that is based on fear. It does not seem that the clergy can provide a satisfactory solution for the souls in distress living in a materialistic age, and the authors say so.

One also finds in the most recent novels attacks on the educational system directed by the clergy, as it exists in the old province. Potvin in 1908 would not see the value that the study of the classics had for a young country lad. Similar statements are found again in the course of the years, although certain writers insist on the importance of the Cours Classique, because of the Greek-Latin humanities and its usefulness as a means of culture and success in life. The education given by the nuns to young girls is not considered satisfactory because it is not a good preparation for life in this world.

On the subject of the formation of youth, another fact appears from reading the novels. It seems that the clergy have not always given the same directives to their flocks with regard to the relationship to be adopted between the French and the English. The Protestants who, according to the first novels, have done everything to suppress the French Canadians as a nation, appear in the more recent novels as the saviors of the French-Canadian state, fighting for the people and their cause, that is to say, against the Nazi forces of the anti-Christ of Europe. In this respect it is interesting to note that, in the opinion of Bourassa, the danger to Quebec lay not in the philosophy of Nietzsche, but in the agnosticism of the Anglo-Protestants.

This evolution of the clergy causes a great confusion of mind, especially among the people of a certain age group who have difficulty in adapting to a situation that is completely new for them, where the English and the Americans must be considered the friends and allies of the French-Canadians, and conscription must be accepted even if it takes the young folks into the war. To the young people the change appears as a liberation and the war as profitable, even if it is the "cursed" British who make the war. This is an attitude that contrasts violently with that of the hero in L'Oublié, who accepts fighting the enemy in defense of the Catholic faith.

The change in the condition of French-Canadian life is manifested by the characters that one finds in the novel. For a long time the authors brought onto the scene farmers, woodsmen, doctors, notaries, soldiers, until the very last years when we find stage and radio people, and even pilots.

However, it is not before Les Plouffe[9] by Lemelin that we find interest in the problems of a class which has become more and more numerous, namely, the workers in the cities. The lack of curiosity of the French-Canadian novel about this urban group has perhaps its explanation in the fact that the French-Canadians have received an education that always insisted on the particular character of farm life. The earth has something of a divine nature in the sense that by her possession and through her cultivation religious and nationalistic survival is safeguarded in Quebec. The novels of all periods, especially the early ones, are filled with the idea that the vocation of the farmer is sublime, because he participates in the work of Creation. It would then have to be the basis of real prosperity and a guaranty for the future. It is in this manner that the first period shows us the settlers and "habitants" living a life in full accordance with divine laws.

During the second period the farmer is still the important person. Even Jean Charles Harvey reproaches the religious educators for leaving out agriculture in the choice of professions offered to graduating college students. It is the land that contains the treasure which will bring support to the hopes of the French-Canadians. The work of the lumberjacks is a field akin to farming. Religious ideas, less evident there than in the parishes, are assured, however, by the priest who makes the rounds at intervals. In this way the influence of the priest is maintained, even if there is vice, and work is so rough, and life so primitive and unfavorable to religious practices.

In the third period the occupations of the characters are more varied, and the worker makes his entrance in the novel. Nevertheless, one idea is still emphasized; the French-Canadian worker of the earth by atavism must not turn his back on the land. There is, for instance, the old "habitant" who does not look with a favorable eye on the fact that his son works in industry, where he meets with remarkable success. In the works of this period Christian socialism is a doctrine that the French-Canadian can accept. A strike may be called, for the success of which the priests pray with the strikers, because it is a question of proclaiming Sunday as a day of rest and not of work.

The labor movement, however, is still in its infancy, and there is a writer who speaks of the lack of enthusiasm that the reorganization of the union finds in ecclesiastical circles. In general, the labor question is left out in the novels, unless it is used to show the exploitation of the Catholic French-Canadian workers by the Protestant and materialistic strangers.

It is only in the fourth period that the place of the worker in the economic

set-up of the state of Quebec becomes worthy of attention. The Catholic French-Canadian worker, until then hardly noticed in the novel, appears in the limelight during the crises when neither government nor religion can alleviate the distress of the unemployed. Three novelists--Gabrielle Roy, Ringuet, and Roger Lemelin--have treated from different points of view this phenomenon observed in Catholic Quebec. In the case of all three it is only the war which brings about a solution, and religion does not come into action at all.

After these observations on the problems which the novel broaches one after the other, an important observation quite naturally has to be made. The French-Canadians see with realistic eyes all aspects of their own life; they ponder upon themselves. In this fact lies an evolution, one might even say a considerable revolution, starting with the idealistic optimism of the beginning of the century, leading through a nationalistic Utopia up to an objectivity which can go as far as pessimism.

The cause of all this change in the French-Canadian novel seems to be the preoccupation with money, the immediate consequence of the economic prosperity which has burst upon Quebec. The new danger that has been growing in an underhand manner, in the guise of utilitarianism, is penetrating into all phases of life in the state of Quebec. With the advance of the century, one notes how the spiritual element is gradually losing strength under the influence of money. In other words, the religious element predominating at the beginning of the century has no longer the same importance in the French-Canadian novel fifty years later.

However, religious themes in the novel have come under the contradictory influence of the spiritual and the materialistic forces which dominate the novel: on the one hand, complete harmony with pure French tradition; on the other hand, opposition to all that is revered in the Catholic religion and that the Abbé Groulx regards with affectionate respect in the Cours Classique. The Church, resting on classical culture, seems to have lost the hold she enjoyed at the beginning of the century.

After having studied the French-Canadian novel up to 1950, we see that the writers forgot or revolted against everything for which the Abbé Groulx stood. As if they were famished for something new, they seem to have taken inspiration from the modern French novel. The consequences are that instead of always looking to the past they want to face the future, even if it means turning away from the old traditional concepts.

We find that the influence of money has upset values in Quebec. The sudden influx of new wealth in this state has brought about not only a richer lower middle class, but also a wealthy upper middle class that exploits mines and runs factories and financial establishments as efficiently as the English. The French-Canadian writers have not overlooked this new element.

One must not deduce from this that, in spite of the passion for money which has swept over Quebec (with all its consequences), the spiritual void produced by materialism is going to continue indefinitely. Already we see in the novel the rich businessman who is more important than ever in the French-Canadian parish. In the cities, where people from the country live in ever greater numbers, the Church has adapted herself to the new conditions of social life and seems destined to leave her imprint on the new industrial setting.

As regards the heroes who revolt against God, their battles lead to desperation, to nihilism. They move in nothingness and are afraid of life. They find only one solution, by accepting life according to divine principles, even if they refuse to keep the idea of a God. And yet it seems to be impossible to do without Him. A life without God is not only useless, but it is also one of the least comfortable that can be imagined. Life can be easy and simple, as the Abbé Groulx tells us in his novel, and any problem can be solved by following Catholic principles. However, the most recent authors are not convinced of this; they think differently and express a radical criticism of Christian morality.

Literary expression naturally must echo such changes. At the beginning we noted religious metaphors, descriptions limited to events and to facts without minute psychological analyses, and a romantic view of the war where the French-Canadians go to find honor and glory. This literary mode of writing is practiced less and less and disappears almost completely about 1941. The observations of the authors become more profound, more decided, and more universal, their vocabulary becomes richer, references to religion disappear. In 1934 Jean Charles Harvey ridiculed the "Christian" French-Canadian literature for its sentimental platitudes and its ignorance of true human passions.

The French Canadians have undergone the same evolution as the Americans after the First World War, but this evolution arrived a quarter of a century later. As regards the religious point of view, however, this evolution that apparently moves away from Christian faith still leaves the way open to Providence, whose interventions have for a long time been acknowledged by French-Canadian authors.

It is with this thought that we finish our study of the French-Canadian novel during the first half of the century, and we do so following the example of Routhier, who asserted his belief that divine direction is capable of bringing French-Canadian life back to the way which for a long time was the only way.

NOTES

1. Marcel Trudel, L'influence de Voltaire au Canada, II (Québec: Les Publications de l'Université Laval, 1945), p. 254.
2. Félicité Angers, L'Oublié (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1902).
3. Lionel Groulx, L'appel de la race (Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française, 1922).
4. Trudel, p. 257.
5. Jean-Charles Harvey, Les demi-civilisés (Montréal: Les Editions du Totem, 1934)

6. Félix-Antoine Savard, La Minuit (Montréal: Fides, 1949), p. 171.
7. Laurent Barré, L'Emprise. Berthe et Rosette (Saint-Hyacinthe, s. é.,1929).
8. Gérard Martin, Tentations (Québec: Librairie Garneau, 1943).
9. Roger Lemelin, Les Plouffe (Québec: Bélisle, éditeur, 1948).

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PRAGUE, A BACKGROUND TO FRANZ WERFEL'S WORK

By Lore B. Foltin, University of Pittsburgh

Prague is a city where for centuries Germans, Czechs, and Jews have lived together. It is an old city. Over its crooked streets hover the legends of its mythical foundress Libussa. Its dark Gothic doorways reeked of old of the smelting pots of alchemists in their quest for gold. From its Renaissance windows beckon the stories of John Huss. Its gorgeous baroque palaces recall the lavish balls of centuries. It is the city of Rabbi Loew and his golem, his robot; of the great scientist Tycho de Brahe, and of Wallenstein, the celebrated general. Meyrink's occult stories are laid there, and there was first heard the gay music of the Bartered Bride. Black magic was frequently practiced; cool stone churches tower over the city's medieval roofs. And the University of Prague, founded in 1348, is the oldest university in Central Europe.

In this city Franz Werfel was born of wealthy Jewish parents in 1890. Here young Franz grew up; here he wrote his first poems. And even though Werfel, like his older countryman Rilke, left Prague in his youth to return only for infrequent visits, he never forgot the "city of a hundred steeples." He evokes its sights and smells and atmosphere for us in his work--indeed the very first poem Werfel published was Die Gärten der Stadt Prag.

The Jews of Prague were German-speaking, but around them there was no German national community. They were closely surrounded by Czechs. The nearest Germans lived in the Sudetenland, and farther away others inhabited "cultural islands" in Moravia. It is therefore not surprising that the literature of the Prague writers in the German tongue was a literature of the city, for whenever they reached beyond their own group they touched upon Czech soil and culture.

In Franz Kafka and Prague, Pavel Eisner states that to truly understand Kafka one must have a knowledge of his city of Prague: its history, its politics, and the various national groups of which its population was composed.[1] In my judgment, this is true of all the writers of the "Prague school": Rilke, Kafka, Werfel, Johannes Urzidil, and Max Brod. It was Max Brod who coined the expression "Prague school,"[2] meaning that certain conditions which existed nowhere else but in Prague shaped decisively the creative genius of these writers, all of whom were born there in the late nineteenth century, spent their youth on the Moldau, and were trying "to see the world in its connection with the transcendental and the metaphysical." The Prague influence, long neglected by critics and interpreters of literature, until Pavel Eisner pointed it out in his brilliant essay, has since been recognized. Peter Demetz, in René Rilkes Prager Jahre, bases his interpretation of the poet's work and life upon a thor-

ough study of the unique Prague milieu.[3] Willy Haas, childhood friend of Kafka, Brod, and Werfel recreates in Die literarische Welt[4] the world of Prague as it existed in the waning years of the Austrian Empire, the world that Franz Werfel immortalized in An Essay upon the Meaning of Imperial Austria.

Werfel's work is deeply rooted in Prague, and the city's people, landmarks, and spiritual and intellectual climate pervade his writings with their distinctive atmosphere. In his novel Der veruntreute Himmel, the parish church of Straschnitz is mentioned and the crisis occurs in a tenement district of Prague, inaptly called the "New World." Werfel describes this tenement as located near the military barracks: "Baufälliges Winkelwerk von Häusern drängt sich hier wie auf Abbruch. Versehentlich hat die weit ins Land hinauszielende Entwicklung der Stadt diesen Moder links liegenlassen, mit seinen schiefen Dächern, wurmstichigen Loggien, schmutzigen Höfchen und ausgetretenen Holzstiegen."[5] In contrast to the ugly immediate surroundings, the view from the room where the heroine confronts her guilty nephew is beautiful, even in these cheap surroundings. "Im Fenster . . . drängt sich eine schöne Aussicht zusammen, ein Gewirr altertümlicher Dächer und Giebel, von schwebenden Blütenkronen unterbrochen, und dahinter im bläulichen Gespensterreich die Kuppeln und Türme Mütterchen Prags wie Nebelbilder."[6] Werfel, and also the other writers of the "Prague School," speak of Mütterchen Prag. Actually, the connotation is not German, but Slavic. No writer from Germany refers to a city as Mütterchen; it is a direct translation from the Czech matečka Praha. In the short story "Weissenstein der Weltverbesserer" we read: "Unsere Geschichte beginnt in einem dieser Cafés. Es lag an einer Strassenecke des geheimnisvollen Prag, dieser Stadt der grossen Türme, der schweren Schatten und ausgesuchten Sonderlage."[7] Other descriptions occur in "Das Trauerhaus"; for example, in the opening chapter mention is made of the dancing school which "Herr Pirik in einem schönen Barockpalais nahe der berühmten Brücke etabliert hatte."[8] The bridge is the ancient Karlsbrücke, that young René Rilke, before he determined to conquer the literary world as Rainer Maria, charmingly sings of in one of his rare humorous moods: "Aber diese Nepomucken! / Von des Torgangs Lucken gucken / und auf allen Brucken spucken / lauter, lauter Nepomucken!"[9]

Also in his poems Werfel evokes the city of his birth: the Prague of the old Austrian Monarchy in his "Ballade vom Winterfrost," and in "Eine Prager Ballade" the Prague that was overrun by the Nazis. Traveling in a train in America, the poet falls asleep and dreams. The old Czech coachman, Mr. Wáwra, is driving the horses to get home to Prague quickly, but Werfel reminds him in anguish that his parents' home is surrounded by Nazis. The dream has turned into a nightmare.

Many names and characters in Werfel's work reveal the influence of his early years spent in Prague. There is the chief protagonist of the novel Barbara, the pure in heart, the compassionate one, whose love passes under-

standing. Her nickname "Babi" is, in the Czech language, a diminutive for "grandmother." Barbara, Ferdinand's nurse, is like a mother to the orphan, always appearing on the scene at the moment of his greatest need. In her Werfel has erected a memorial to his old nurse, Babi. Then there is Krasny, the poet in the same novel, whose name means "beautiful" in Czech. In Der veruntreute Himmel, the heroine is Teta, the shrewd and yet lovable cook: Teta in Czech means "aunt." She is an old woman of typical Slavic physiognomy, "mit breiten Backenknochen," who speaks "mit einem harten slawischen Tonfall." She likes to sing and still has "die kühle und klare Stimme eines Jungmädchens." Like Barbara, Teta is neither educated nor a person of great intelligence, but she has a distinct personality and knows more about what Werfel often called "the last questions" than do the intelligentsia. When young Philip dies, she is the only one in the household "die mit dem Tode auskam." This death, like all deaths, is to her an entrance into Paradise.

Werfel's work is indeed peopled with Slavs. In "Das Trauerhaus" we meet lieutenant Kohout (the "rooster") and Ludmilla and Nejedli; there are Czech names in the drama Bocksgesang; and one might mention Elisabeth, called Lischka by her husband and her lover in the stirring drama about the Hussite Wars, Das Reich Gottes in Böhmen.

Even more revealing of the role that Prague played in Werfel's life are his personal remarks, not intended for publication, such as those found in his letters to Alma Mahler, the widow of the composer, his Muse, who later became his wife. In the Werfel archive at the University of California at Los Angeles[10] are seven colored photographs on postcards that Werfel sent to his future wife in Vienna while he was visiting his family in Prague. All are dated 1919. One, showing the evening light over the castle and the Kleinseite,[11] reads, "An dieser Abendstimmung ist nichts gefälscht, ausser dass es in Wirklichkeit noch magischer ist. Alpenglühen auf einem Domgebirge." Another card depicts the Kleinseite: "Ich sende Dir Ansichtskarten aus Prag, damit Du siehst wie göttlich schön die längstvergessene Gestalt dieser Stadt ist." In a letter from Prague, dated 1933, he writes, "Ich gehe viel spazieren. Das tut mir wohl. Die alte Stadt ist so geheimnisvoll und weltfern. Ännlich wie Venedig."

Werfel lived a great part of his life in Austria, Italy, and France, and, during his last years, in America, yet as late as 1943, two years before his untimely death, he nostalgically remembers the Stadtpark of Prague. In 1905, as in 1959, a Schiller-year was celebrated, and in the poem "Sechs Setterime zu Ehren des Frühlings von Neunzehnhundertundfünf," devoted to the memory of the actress of Schiller's plays, Maria Immisch, our poet muses: "Der Stadtpark war schon dicht belaubt. / Der Flieder rief . . .!" The city park, a memory of his childhood for Werfel, is a favorite theme of his poems, as is an old woman, usually of lowly status. In the cycle Der Weltfreund we read: "Ich bin wie nach dem Regen / Der Stadtpark vor dem Haus . . .!" In the collection Wir sind is the poem

that brought Werfel to the attention of Joachim Maas,[12] which beins: "Eine alte Frau geht wie ein runder Turm / Durch die Hauptallee im Blättersturm . . ."

The Germans of Prague lived in a kind of ghetto, surrounded as they were by Czechs, a people who spoke another language and were of a different culture. The German children of Prague were brought up by Czech nurses, served at table by Czech servants, had their clothes fitted by Czech seamstresses, rode on streetcars driven by Czech motormen. But they went to German schools--Rilke, Kafka, Brod, Willy Haas and Franz Werfel all went to the German Piaristen-gymnasium--read German newspapers, such as the liberal Prager Tagblatt or the more chauvinistic Bohemia, had their own German theaters and clubs, such as the Deutsches Haus in the choice location of the brilliant avenue, the Graben, and spoke German at home and with their friends.

The German they spoke, however, was neither the rich, expressive idiom of Germany nor the sweet, musical, nonchalant German of Austria; it was an impoverished language, that language of the upper-class Prague Germans, interwoven with Czech expressions, and, among the Jews, with some words of Yiddish.[13] This peculiar language, in which Czech words are mixed quite naturally with German, can be illustrated by many early poems of Rilke. The following quotation is from "Der kleine Drateník." Here, even in the title, the mixture of language can be observed. Only a writer from Prague would choose such a title. A German from Germany or Austria would, of course, have called the poem "Der kleine Drahtbinder." In an apparently effortless way, Czech and German words rhyme with each other: "Nur einen Krajcar, nur einen / für ein Stück Brot, milost' pánků!" / Da!--Und er stammelt mir Dank zu, / doch lässt nicht Ruh er den Beinen."[14] The word Krajcar is a corruption of the German Kreuzer. Such corruptions were quite common in Prague, in both languages, that is, the Czechs used German words, creating a language popularly called "Kuchelböhmisch," from Kuchel, a corruption of die Küche, for this language evolved in the kitchen in conversations between the German Herrschaft and the Czech servants. On the other hand, the Germans of Prague did not hesitate to Germanize many Czech words and use them in their peculiar Prager Deutsch. In the poem cited above milost pánků rhyming with Dank zu is a Czech diminutive corresponding to the German gnädiger Herr. Rilke also does not mind rhyming the German ihm with the Czech prosím, meaning "please." Franz Kafka demonstrates the Slavic influence by using bis in the sense of "as soon as," which is a Germanized form of the Czech 'až,--a native German would say, of course, sobald.[15] Franz Werfel has some of this Lokalkolorit in his work: ". . . ich fahre Sie auf Prag," or "Fahr ich Sie stantepe übers Atlantische Meer."[16]

The peculiar situation existing in Prague made life quite difficult for the German writers of the city, since they were creating in a sort of vacuum. In time, they all found a wider reading public. They did this by moving to Vienna, to Munich, to Berlin. None of them felt drawn to their Sudeten-German

compatriots, upon whom they looked with a mixture of disgust and envy: with disgust, because the German writers of the Sudetenland were unsophisticated, rather coarse, politically biased, and lacking in originality; with envy, because these Sudeten-Germans had their roots in the soil, they lived in a German-speaking environment, amidst the serene beauty of the Erzgebirge and the Riesengebirge. And yet the literature of the Sudetenland remained provincial, while the work of city-bred writers such as Werfel and Rilke was destined to become world literature.

The German citizens of Prague considered themselves a part of the "ruling" classes, but those among them who became writers felt a brotherly love for their Czech countrymen. Hence the frequent use of a Czech motif in this German literature; for example, Rilke's fascination with Dalibor, the Czech knight, or with Joseph Kajetan Tyl, the Czech actor-poet of the pre-revolutionary period, the Vormärz, whose haunting song of peace, Kde domov můj ("Where my home is"), was to become the National anthem of the Czechoslovak Republic. When Rilke visited the Narodopísna výstava, an ethnographic exhibit which showed the reconstructed room of Kajetan Tyl, he conceived the poem: "Da also hat der arme Tyl / sein Lied 'Kde domov můj' geschrieben. / In Wahrheit: Wen die Musen lieben, / dem gibt das Leben nicht zuviel." [17]

The political significance of these lines of the young Rilke are not immediately apparent today. The Prague German press ignored the Czech exhibit. No German condescended to visit the exhibition grounds. In contrast to this ethnic snobbery, a typical case of sour grapes on the part of many Germans who narrow-mindedly could not endure the surging vitality of the Czechs, Rilke braved the public opinion of the Germans, and not only visited the exhibit, but also published the poem.[18]

Rilke was not alone in this public expression of brotherly love toward the Czechs. A few years later Max Brod translated the texts of Leoš Janáček's operas into German and was instrumental in introducing this ultra-Czech music to Germany. Franz Kafka attached himself to Milena Jesenská, a Czech girl. Franz Werfel translated poems of the Czech writer Ottakar Březina. In a letter to Alma Mahler, dated 1921, Werfel writes from Prague:

> Spreche niemanden ausser dem tschechischen Dichter Dvořák, der einen grossen Eindruck auf mich macht. Eine wirkliche Natur! Ein Mann!--Er will den "Bocksgesang," in den er ganz verliebt ist, für die Bühne hier einrichten und übersetzen.

So Werfel, like the others, broke out of the vaccum by making friends with Czech writers; he, too, moved away from Prague and cut the umbilical cord. However, while the influence of his new environment and the freedom of expres-

sion it brought in its train cannot be overlooked, the real liberation was subjective. I refer to Werfel's faith, which he so beautifully summed up in the preface to Das Lied von Bernadette: "Schon in den Tagen, da ich meine ersten Verse schrieb, hatte ich mir zugeschworen immer und überall durch meine Schriften zu verherrlichen das göttliche Geheimnis und die menschliche Heiligkeit . . . ." That need for adoration of the Unseen Reality, that yearning to draw nearer to the Divine which made Werfel the eloquent champion of faith that he is, seems to have its origin in the city of massive church towers and lofty spires, the ancient city of Prague. That need and desire run like a scarlet thread through his work: "Die eigentliche historische Erbschaft, die diese Stadt ihren Dichtern vermachte, war die mystische Ekstase." So states Peter Demetz, and he continues, "Unter den hundert Glockentürmen geriet jedes Gefühl in die gefährliche Nähe religiöser Verzückung."[19] This mystical yearning burns, an inextinguishable flame, in our poet's heart. It is imparted to his characters in a variety of ways, sometimes subtle, sometimes straightforward, sometimes complex, and then again with child-like simplicity, but it is always there, triumphant over the base or the mere materialistic. We find it in Barbara, whose faith is like a rock. We find it in Teta, who has arranged her whole life with a view to the hereafter. We find it in Bernadette's unshakable belief in, and the sublime rapture of, her love for the lady of her visions. It is the basic theme of Werfel's essays, dramas, and poetry.

Thus in spite of his wanderings Werfel remained a child of Prague. Even in his final novel, Stern der Ungeborenen, which takes place in an imaginary region and in the far distant future, there are many reminiscences of Prague: " . . . obwohl ich jetzt mit Heimweh an die Türme und Tore unserer mittelalterlichen Heimatstadt denken muss, an ihre Hochburg, den Hradschin, und an ihre gotischen und barocken Paläste."[20] Not just the castle, the Hradschin, rises before the reader, but also the Wyschehrad, Prague's oldest fortress at the southern edge of the city, and the Ufergasse, the quai on the river, play their part in the story. Werfel, the cosmopolitan, never lost his love for the city of his childhood.

NOTES

1. Pavel Eisner, Franz Kafka and Prague, Golden Griffin Books (New York: Arts, Inc., 1950).
2. Taken from a letter which Brod wrote to me concerning an introduction to his story "Der Tod ist ein vorübergehender Schwächezustand, "included in my collection Aus Nah und Fern (Houghton Mifflin, 1950).
3. Peter Demetz, René Rilke's Prager Jahre (Düsseldorf: Eugen Diedericks Verlag, 1953), p. 6: "Rilkes Leben und Arbeit ist weit mehr, als es seinen eigenen Angaben nach den Anschein hätte, von seiner persönlichen Antwort auf die Herausforderung des Ortes und der Zeit seiner Herkunft [my italics] bestimmt."
4. Willy Haas, Die literarische Welt (München: Paul List Verlag, 1958).
5. Franz Werfel, Der veruntreute Himmel (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer

Buchered, 1952), p. 127.

6. Ibid., p. 129.
7. Werfel refers here to the Café Arco where the literary circle of the youthful Prague writers met. Johannes Urzidil mentions this café, together with Werfel, Kafka, and Weissenstein, the world reformer, in his book Die verlorene Geliebte; Begegnungen im goldenen Prag (München: Albert Langen-Georg Müller, 1956), pp. 110-111.
8. In Erzählungen aus zwei Welten, II (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer Verlag,1948).
9. Rainer Maria Rilke, "Heilige," in Gesammelte Werke, (Leipzig:Insel Verlag, 1933), p. 49.
10. I take much pleasure in thanking Dr. Gustave O. Arlt, Professor of German and Dean of the Graduate Divisions of the University of California, long-time friend to Werfel, for giving me access to the Werfel archive. The texts of Werfel's letters are printed here by special permission of Mrs. Alma Mahler Werfel.
11. A section of Prague. Goethe's friend, Kaspar Graf Sternberg, lived here.
12. Maass later wrote the beautiful eulogy "Das begnadete Herz "(Die Stockholmer Neue Rundschau, II, 1946), in which he admirably grasped the essence of Werfel's greatness.
13. Compare Haas, p. 10: "Die Juden sprachen Deutsch und waren österreichische Patrioten . . . Die höhere Beamtenschaft sprach ein denaturalisiertes, steriles und groteskes k.u.k. Tschechisch-deutsch. Die Adeligen in ihren geheimnisvollen, riesigen Barockpalästen auf der Kleinseite sprachen Französisch und gehörten keiner Nation an, sondern dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, das es seit fast einem Jahrhundert nicht mehr gab." Similarly, and humorously, Johannes Urzidil, Die verlorene Geliebte, p. 40," . . . denn in Prag, von wo ich kam, redete man das Hochdeutsch der Kanzlei des Kaisers Karl IV." Or, p. 75: "Es war ein übernationales Deutsch und als solches symbolisch für den völkerverbindenden Charakter der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie."
14. Rilke, Gesammelte Werke, 98.
15. Also pointed out by Pavel Eisner, p. 95.
16. My italics.
17. Rilke, "Kajetan Tyl," in Gesammelte Werke, p. 60.
18. See Demetz, p. 145. It is interesting to note in this connection Oskar Schürer, Prag (Georg D. W. Callwey Verlag und Rudolf M. Rohrer Verlag, 1935), p. 354: "Die Deutschen in Prag waren von je soziale Oberschicht. In früheren Jahrhunderten war diese deutsche Oberschicht von einem kräftigen Handwerkerstand getragen worden. Der war in neueren Zeiten teils durch Abwanderung, teils durch Aufgehen in den oberen Ständen, teils aber auch durch Aufsaugung durch die tschechischen Mittelklassen immer mehr abgeschmolzen. Ergänzender Zuzug vom Lande her fehlte. Der Zustrom tschechischer Landbevölkerung füllte die Fabriken, liess Deutsche kaum mehr zu . . . da stand das Prager Deutschtum einsam zwischen fremdem Volkstum, eine Gesellschaft gebildeter Geister unter such. Lebendige

Volkskraft gedieh nicht mehr in solcher Luft. Wohl aber in manchen Kreisen eine erlesene Spätkultur, der dann ein Rainer Maria Rilke aus frühen Erlebnissen, die er hier aufgenommen hatte, in seiner Dichtung die Verklärung schuf."

19. Demetz, p. 108. For a different point of view see Heinz Politzer, "Prague and the Origins of Rainer Maria Rilke, Franz Kafka, and Franz Werfel," Modern Language Quarterly, XVI (1955), 58: "The poet of the Slavic - Christian revolution settled down as a eulogist of the Austrian restoration, a pseudo-Catholic poet."

20. Franz Werfel, Stern der Ungeborenen (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1946), p. 25.

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HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL: THE SYMBOL AS EXPERIENCE

By Penrith Goff, Pomona College

In 1894 Hermann Bahr announced the rise of a new symbolism[1] which he claimed was the result of art's yearning to escape from Naturalism. The old symbolism--and Bahr refers specifically to the symbolism of the second part of Wagner's Faust and of some of Victor Hugo's works--utilized symbols as perceptible signs of imperceptible things. The new symbolism used symbols as perceptible signs, representatives, of perceptible things. For example: to convey the grief of a father whose child has died, Bahr's symbolist tells how a little fir tree grew straight and proud in the forest; the big trees took great pleasure in it until one day a gaunt wild man came and with his cold ax cut down the little tree because it was Christmas. Here the little fir tree stands for the child, of course, but the facts of the story are completely unrelated to the death of the child. The story functions as a symbol, Bahr says, by awakening in us the same emotion the father feels.

We are tempted,perhaps,to contest Bahr's assertion of novelty for this technique, but we may spare ourselves the effort. After all, the symbolism which he claimed to see really never came to much. What is of interest is that he chose as illustrations of the new symbolism two poems by a young man who had just graduated from the Gymnasium, Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Certain comments in Hofmannsthal's essays and diary notes--the remark, for example, that "everything which exists is a symbol"[2]--justify our conjecture that the young Hofmannsthal who wrote these poems may have been a symbolist,not only in technique, as Bahr claims, but also in theory. It was not until 1903, after Hofmannsthal had all but stopped writing lyric poetry, that he actually set down on paper his own definition of symbol. It is worthy of our consideration for two reasons: it is requisite to an understanding of Hofmannsthal's aesthetics and it is a redefinition of a word which has lost much of its meaning in present usage.

The definition is contained in the dialogue "Gespräch über Gedichte."[3] In the dialogue two young men are discussing poetry. Clemens holds a conventional view of poetry: he believes that symbols are deliberately invented by the poet to "stand for" something--a view from which Bahr with his little fir tree does not differ. Gabriel, through whom Hofmannsthal speaks, maintains that symbols do not stand for anything but themselves and that they are not deliberate inventions of the poet. At one moment Clemens, in accord with his conventional view of poetry, tries to puzzle out the meaning of the swans who make love and are separated in Hebbel's poem "Sie sehn sich nicht wieder." Gabriel interrupts him: "Ja, sie bedeuten, aber sprich es nicht aus, was sie bedeuten; was immer du sagen wolltest, es wäre unrichtig. Sie bedeuten hier nichts als sich selber: Schwäne."[4]

Gabriel volunteers, then, to explain what a symbol is, but he does not use rational terms; he uses an illustration which requires interpretation if it is to have any value as a definition. He chooses for his explanation a symbolic action of universal significance, the animal sacrifice. He imagines the man who made the original sacrifice, standing overwhelmed by the hatred of the gods, feeling that they hurled the waves of the mountain torrent and the thunder of the mountains into his fields . . . or he felt that the greedy soul of a dead man came into his hut at night as he tried to sleep, and sat upon his breast, thirsting after his blood.

> Da griff er, im doppelten Dunkel seiner niedern Hütte und seiner Herzensangst, nach dem scharfen, krummen Messer und war bereit, das Blut aus seiner Kehle rinnen zu lassen, dem furchtbaren Unsichtbaren zur Lust. Und da, trunken vor Angst und Wildheit und Nähe des Todes, wühlte seine Hand, halb unbewusst, noch einmal im wolligen warmen Vliess des Widders.--Und dieses Tier, dieses Leben, dieses im Dunkel atmende, blutwarme, ihm so nah, so vertraut--auf einmal zuckte dem Tier das Messer in die Kehle, und das warme Blut rieselte zugleich an dem Vliess des Tieres und an der Brust, an den Armen des Menschen hinab: und einen Augenblick lang muss er geglaubt haben, es sei sein eigenes Blut; einen Augenblick lang, während ein Laut des wollüstigen Triumphes aus seiner Kehle sich mit dem ersterbenden Stöhnen des Tieres mischte, muss er die Wollust gesteigerten Daseins für die erste Zuckung des Todes genommen haben: er muss, einen Augenblick lang, in dem Tier gestorben sein, nur so konnte das Tier für ihn sterben.[5]

If we accept this illustration as a definition of symbol, it is plain that its most important implication is that a symbol involves experience. The slaying of the animal has no meaning unless the man is really convinced momentarily that he is experiencing his own death. "Er muss einen Augenblick lang in dem Tier gestorben sein." Gabriel makes this clear when Clemens asks what he means by saying that the man's blood really flowed:

> Clemens: Du sagst <u>wirklich</u>, Gabriel?
>
> (Eine Pause)
>
> Clemens: Er starb in dem Tier. Und wir lösen uns auf in den Symbolen. So meinst du es?
> Gabriel: Freilich. Soweit sie die Kraft haben, uns zu bezaubern.[6]

Gabriel's answer is to be taken quite seriously because a second implication of the definition is that the experience involved, the "symbolic experience," is a merging of existences. This explanation of the symbolic experience is rooted in Hofmannsthal's deep conviction that all life, all the world, is an intricately interrelated whole. These interrelations between persons and objects make it abundantly possible for an individual to merge his existence with some other existence in a symbolic experience. This is what Gabriel means when he tells Clemens that the symbolic experience is possible because "there is no difference between us and the world."

There is, of course, the difference of individuation, which Gabriel with poetic magnanimity ignores. We cannot ignore it, however, because it is this very suspension of difference between us and some other being or object which constitutes the essential quality of Hofmannsthal's symbolic experience. During the moment the man "dies in the ram" he perceives absolutely no difference between himself and the ram. The symbolic experience, the merging of existences, is an experience, even if fragmentary, of the unity of existence.

The illustration of the sacrifice is an excellent example of symbol because it offers an explanation of the efficacy of a ritual which has been transmitted in all major western religious tradition. Hofmannsthal was, indeed, fascinated with the idea of sacrifice; the motif appears in several plays.[7] However, we must avoid interpreting this definition too scrupulously. The few commentators who have examined the definition have construed it, and consequently Hofmannsthal's view of the symbol, as "ritualistic," "religious," and "sacrificial."[8] How can it imply these things? Can we speak of the experience Gabriel describes as a "sacrifice"? He describes not a sacrifice, but an action in which sacrifice originated. There is surely no question here of ritual, since ritual grows out of recurrence, deliberate repetition. This experience may be the beginning of ritual, but is not yet ritual itself.

This observation is particularly interesting because it points to a third implication of Hofmannsthal's definition of symbol. The man's experience of merging his existence with that of the ram gives rise to the sacrificial act consciously performed as ritual. The symbolic experience produces symbols. Symbols are thus a by-product. They are not painfully sought after but are the natural results of symbolic experience. The experience comes first, then the symbol.

We can find support for this interpretation later in the dialogue in Gabriel's discussion of Goethe's poem "Selige Sehnsucht." The poem, says Gabriel, expresses the experience of Goethe's soul in the process of conceiving the poem--expresses it symbolically, one may say, because when Gabriel describes Goethe's experience further, it becomes clear that he thinks of it as a symbolic experience. A moment comes, he says, and "squeezes the juice" from thousands of past moments like it, so that suddenly they become present time and exist together as

never before. Such a moment, triggering as it does the simultaneity of the past--this "landscape of the soul," as Gabriel calls it--inspires a perfect poem. It is a symbolic experience, therefore. In such a moment Goethe experiences a merging of his present existence with his past; he also experiences the unity of his own existence, and this experience gives rise to a symbol, the poem.

In a sense Gabriel has not achieved his aim at all. He sets out to explain to Clemens what a symbol is, and explains only how it comes about. His definition accounts for the poet's experience; he has told Clemens how the swans got into Hebbel's poem, but he has not told him what the swans mean to the reader of the poem. As we saw a moment ago, Clemens is ready to understand the definition in the spirit in which it is meant. Both Gabriel and Clemens, leaving logic aside for the moment, place the reader of poetry in the position of the man who dies in the ram. Gabriel's assumption that the reader can undergo a symbolic experience when he reads poetry is a crucial one, because it is this quality of the symbol which explains its aesthetic value. The fourth aspect of Hofmannsthal's symbol is that it has the power to evoke a symbolic experience. This is its function in poetry. The momentary merging of existences is the root of all poetry, Gabriel says. On a large scale our feelings are resolved in Hamlet as long as he is on the stage and hypnotizes us, and on a small scale for the brief moment our feelings are resolved in the loving and parting of Hebbel's swans.

The true symbol does not, then, stand for something. It is the precipitate of the poet's symbolic experience and the medium for evoking a symbolic experience in the reader. Its value as a symbol depends entirely upon its power to evoke the symbolic experience. The definition Hofmannsthal has provided could be expanded and refined, but it seems adequate as it stands. Most of the propounders of a symbolist aesthetic are concerned with literary symbols; Hofmannsthal deals with the symbol in general. By the very nature of his presentation he answers a question commonly neglected by theorists: Where do symbols come from?

It is only fair to give the whole picture of Hofmannsthal's definition of the symbol by admitting that for all the cogency of Gabriel's arguments, Clemens remains unconvinced. Gabriel does not in the least succeed in changing Clemens' conventional ideas about poetry.

I should not end this discussion without indicating the role this view of the symbol plays in Hofmannsthal's later thought. During the decade which followed the publication of this dialogue, the symbolic experience appears again and again in Hofmannsthal's dialogues and essays. It is the basis of an explanation of our appreciation of fiction; the reader achieves "perfect" understanding of a work in an exalted moment when he experiences everything the poet felt; he feels literally that he himself is a poet.[9] It is the explanation of the second of the Augenblicke in Griechenland, that strange and beautiful travel sketch "Der Wanderer," in

which Hofmannsthal's experience of traveling through the Grecian countryside is gradually raised to the level of an intoxicating symbol of his own traveling through life toward destiny. During the first World War some echoes of the theory appear in the essays; after the war and during Hofmannsthal's remaining years the theory is as good as forgotten. Hofmannsthal himself uses the word symbol quite as loosely as we all do. His symbolism had already followed Bahr's into oblivion.

NOTES

1. Herman Bahr, "Symbolisten," Studien zur Kritik der Moderne (Frankfurt am Main, 1894), pp. 26-32.
2. "Alles was ist, ist, Sein und Bedeuten ist eins, folglich ist alles Seiende Symbol," from diary notes in Hofmannsthal, Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben, ed. Herbert Steiner. Aufzeichnungen (Frankfurt am Main, 1959), p. 106.
3. Hofmannsthal, Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben. Prosa II (Frankfurt am Main, 1951), pp. 74-112. Cited hereafter as P. II.
4. P. II, p. 101.
5. P. II, pp. 103-104.
6. P. II, p. 105.
7. The theme appears in Elektra in the ironic scene in which Klytemnestra tries to persuade Elektra to tell her what sacrifice will end her oppressive dreams. In Ödipus und die Sphinx it appears twice: Ödipus declares that the only effective sacrifice for him would be his own life (Gesammelte Werke in drei Bänden /Berlin, 1934/, II, 109), and the magician describes his experience of performing an animal sacrifice (pp. 127-128). In Der Turm (Gesammelte Werke, III, 79) Sigismund recalls the slaughter of a pig. The effect of symbolic death is so powerful he cannot eat meat afterwards.
8. See Frank Wood, "Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Aesthetics: A Survey Based on the Prose Works," PMLA, LV (1940), 235-265; Grete Schaeder, Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Goethe (Hameln, 1947), pp. 49-51.
9. See "Unterhaltungen über ein neues Buch," especially the concluding paragraph (P. II, pp. 254-255).

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ECCLESIA-SYNAGOGA IN CHRÉTIEN'S PERCEVAL

By Edward B. Ham, University of Michigan

Those who savour "scholarly gentlemen, the hope of civilization, lighting matches under the intellectual finger-nails of other scholarly gentlemen"[1] owe solemn thanks to Chrétien de Troyes, twelfth-century master of spirituality--and of foolery besides. No other medieval poet has lent himself more generously to vehemence in twentieth-century scholarship. For instance, 1959 yields the fantasy that the "sententia of Chrétien's Perceval is the triumph of charity over prowess."[2] In 1956, while one scholar found that "in the person of the Fisher King [in Perceval], chivalry can lie prostrate in its own inadequacy, in its specific guilt and aberration,"[3] another was saying that "it is the hypothesis of Celtic origin which answers the [italics mine] many riddles of the Perceval story and the Grail legend."[4] However, 1949 did still better, as it was then that one could "rest secure in the conviction that the basic theme of the Charrette was the annual struggle of the Kings of Winter and Summer for the possession of a vegetation goddess."[5] This last oddity, I am assured by a former student, admirably exemplifies the anthropological approach to matters Arthurian.

In this brief compass, only one topic of controversy can be reviewed. It was first pointed out by Urban T. Holmes, Jr. (in 1947) that, even if within no more than a few hundred Perceval lines, Chrétien was thinking of Old Testament Law as being replaced by the New. Or, as indicated more recently, in medieval terms, Synagoga as being replaced by Ecclesia. Although basic for the meaning of the poem, this interpretation has yet to receive the attention which it merits. Opponents have tended to ignore or brush aside the issue, hoping that it might quietly vanish without embarrassing cherished theories.

In 1955, Sister M. Amelia Klenke, O. P., was the first to spell out the Ecclesia-Synagoga interpretation specifically.[6] Within a month Mario Roques published another crucial paper which confirmed the same conclusion:[7] his study was evaluated by Edmond Faral as "magistrale et définitive."[8] Mme Myrrha Lot-Borodine followed in 1956 with partial acceptance, notably concerning Ecclesia.[9]

It is now generally accepted that, in addition to being Chrétien's finest story of adventure, the Perceval has extensive spiritual implications, particularly since Kellermann's meritorious 1936 monograph, but various critics (e.g., Séchelles, Jean Marx, Hildegard Emmel, Köhler, Owen)[10] would find Arthurian scholarship a happier playground if there were none. As for Chrétien thinking about the Old Law and the New, Stefan Hofer, for instance, travesties Holmes by saying only that it is absurd to suggest that the poet "wanted to write his contribution to the solution of the Jewish problem."[11] Loomis[12] summarily dis-

misses the Ecclesia-Synagoga theory simply by assuming that Sister Amelia identifies the poem's male lance-bearer as Synagoga, an idea nowhere intimated in the writings of anyone. In his 1959 monograph Fowler "cannot accept Holmes's interpretation,"[13] but states no reason. Later in the same year[14] he is hesitantly skeptical about the Ecclesia-Synagoga motif, but still no reason turns up, despite his implication that for Holmes and Sister Amelia[15] a "conversion" of Perceval is "symbolized by his coming into Arthurian society"! Opposition (while slightly tangential) is nowhere more emphatic than when Loomis says that the Grail, as it appears to Perceval,

> is no chalice; it is not carried by a priest; it is not preserved in a chapel. On the contrary, it is a jewel-bedecked platter borne by a beautiful maiden. . . /Chrétien/ either had no conception of the proprieties of Christian ethics and ritual, or he did not conceive of the Grail as a Christian object. The latter seems far the more plausible theory and permits us to respect Chrétien's intelligence.[16]

This is still being echoed in 1959, when D. D. R. Owen finds it unlikely that Chrétien "regarded the Grail and spear as Christian relics: otherwise he would . . . at least have let fall some hint of their religious significance."[17] So much for samplings in pot-shots among Arthurian scholars to-day.

To date, the only serious criticism against the Ecclesia-Synagoga hypothesis is that of Jean Frappier in his 1957 book about Chrétien.[18] His demurrer is directed at the 1955 article by Roques. It is their disagreement which is the principal subject here.[19] Although, as Frappier points out, it is "rash and even arbitrary to isolate the lance and the Grail from the other elements . . . of the legend,"[20] discussion here is of necessity limited to the Grail-bearing maiden of vv. 3221-3223.

Apparently with reluctance, Frappier agrees that she may indeed represent Ecclesia, while urging that Chrétien presumably took great care to keep her virtually unrecognizable. He also concedes that nothing prevents acceptance of the idea that numerous medieval works of art (especially such as the twelfth-century Strasbourg miniature known as the Hortus deliciarum) influenced Chrétien's arrangement of his Grail-castle procession. It is, in fact, the very abundance of artistic representations of Ecclesia replacing Synagoga that establishes this glorification of the Church Triumphant as a preoccupation of educated Frenchmen in Chrétien's day.

What then are Frappier's objections against Roques? 1, In the Hortus deliciarum Ecclesia, at the foot of the Cross, receives the divine blood in a chalice which she holds up in only one hand. Frappier says that Chrétien's Grail-bearer, however, uses both hands. How can this really matter? 2, The critic

goes on to say that, as each new course is served during the Grail-castle banquet, the Grail itself is conveyed through the dining-hall, but there is no further reference to the bleeding lance which Chrétien mentioned in its first procession (See vv. 3191-3201, 3299-3301). Why is repetition about the lance required? 3, Frappier points out that the Grail had been served to the aged Grail-King for fifteen years before Perceval's visit at the castle, so how can it be known today that, during all that time, the Grail-bearing maiden was really Ecclesia? On the other hand, why question this either way? Chrétien plainly did not consider the matter important enough to mention. Must one now?

Incidentally, at this point, Frappier would have it, against the Grail-bearer as truly being Ecclesia, that "recourse to personifications and to allegory is not usual with Chrétien."[21] He adds also that the "mirages of allegorical interpretation have beguiled Holmes into the over-ingenious discovery that the Conte du Graal represents the Old Law of Moses replaced by the New Law of Christ." In so doing, he pays no heed to the testimony of Hebrews ix, which Holmes rightly found so important for Chrétien.

If Chrétien intended the Grail-bearing maiden to symbolize Ecclesia, Frappier asks why there is no mention of a crown or of the cross surmounting the standard carried by Ecclesia in the Hortus miniature (and also, he might have added, in the Crucifixion window at Châlons-sur-Marne and in the portable altar at Stavelot in eastern Belgium). This question is an argument only ex silentio: after all, the sole arbiter for inclusions and exclusions in the Perceval was Chrétien, who was content to say of the Grail-bearer simply that she was "beautiful and charming and attractively adorned" (v. 3223). Roques has put forward a more positive and satisfying suggestion than Frappier's view:

> If Chrétien has not said "chalice" instead of "grail," it may be . . . because the vague word "grail" left Chrétien's audience in the same indecision as that in which this object plunged Perceval, and thereby maintained an air of mystery propitious to the author's intent.[22] In the same way, one will perhaps think that, if he has not shown the maiden Grail-bearer adorned with a crown. . . and if he has been content to surround her with a marvelous brilliance, he has done so to keep her from being recognized too soon--not by Perceval, but by the audience listening to the romance.[23]

Invoking the thirteenth-century Queste du saint Graal, where Holy Church receives the title of "Dame," Frappier is concerned because Chrétien's maiden is only damoisele (v. 3221), and because she is further reduced to the status of on when the hermit-uncle is Perceval's confessor. At most, the indefinite on merely displaces the passive voice, wherever Chrétien speaks of the Grail question. Does there have to be a problem about the word damoisele? Frappier

finds the term inadequate for Ecclesia, but it scarcely suggests lack of reverence in Chrétien's account of Grail and administrant. Like others before him, Frappier is citing testimony from post-Chrétien texts and finds that "in the Middle Ages no author after Chrétien recognized or admitted the allegory of Holy Church in the maiden of the Grail."[24] But obviously, no subsequent author affected Chrétien while the Perceval verses were being put together.

Frappier goes on to urge that the poet was thinking not so much of a "dogmatic symbolism" as of something "religiously romantic, in harmony with an atmosphere of legend which Chrétien preserved in his tale of adventure and chivalry, despite a few rational explanations or sly teasings about magic."[25] It is easy to agree that the Perceval is not "dogmatic" in its symbolism, but symbolism there is (at the same time, why the need to argue whether or not Chrétien regarded any part of his poem as allegory?).

There is value in starting again from the very obvious and trying to take a step or two from there. There is safety in recalling that Chrétien was a highly educated member of a sophisticated twelfth-century society. The precise ratio of his Celtic borrowings to his liturgical colorations will doubtless never be known, but that both loom large in the poem is another self-evident fact which wants constant remembering. It should also go without saying that a pre-1200 reader or hearer could understand the narration completely, without any special familiarity with the author's sources. It would, in fact, be strange if more than a very few knew much about details in Chrétien's rich background, about his skills in putting such details to use, or about symbols which he did not choose to annotate.

Now, why all this reiteration of truisms? Because the account of Grail-castle and procession is movingly religious in spirit, because Chrétien had positive reason for making it so, because with his own originality he marshaled his erudition to create the elements of his poem's most beautiful scene. Also (and here is yet another return to the obvious), the non-canonical Grail and its accessories suit this particular romance of adventure far better then any direct appropriation of the liturgy.

Now and in the future, the Perceval problem needs more than source-hunting, however essential that always remains. It is no longer new in Chrétien scholarship to hear that the main point is to fathom everything in his thought while he was composing the poem. There must be continuing effort to divine what Chrétien's symbolical mind meant to convey, not only in the Grail scene, but everywhere else in his story. Whatever his audience may have ignored or merely failed to recognize, Chrétien, curiously enough, knew the potential meanings and implications of the poem, from beginning to end.

It is inconceivable that he was not familiar with the Ecclesia-Synagoga representations of his day, at least in the parts of the France he knew. It is equally

inconceivable that many among his audience were not likewise familiar. Records of the Crusades still bear testimony to occidental concern about the supposed religious inadequacy of Saracen and Jewish peoples. Possibly Sister Amelia "forces the note" in suggesting (however persuasively) that Perceval may have been a Saul who learned Caritas and became Paul. It is tempting to suppose that Chrétien had such a thought in mind, more so than Frappier's hope that the Grail-bearer could be just another maiden conjured up from the "magic wonders of Brittany."

No loyal Celticist will be convinced by much beyond the truisms invoked in this paper; nor will various others. Mathematical proof is claimed here no more than in the subtle argumentations by Mario Roques; perhaps his forthcoming paper on Perceval in the 1960 Romania will add new light. But it is my hope that a measure of reasonableness will have been restored. The one claim in this rapid survey is that Chrétien was indeed thinking of Ecclesia when he imagined his Grail-bearing maiden, striving as she was to make the still-clouded Perceval recognize her sought-for triumph over Synagoga. Concentration on the obvious, again recommended, will, I believe, extend acceptance of the interpretation that Chrétien's poem includes his vivid dream of the New Law succeeding the Old.

Finally, I would repeat Faral's appraisal of the study by Roques: "magistrale et définitive." And I would repeat also what Holmes said only fifteen months ago about Chrétien researches: "We must continue to grope intelligently."[26] This brief paper, if nothing more, has groped.

NOTES

1. From an unsigned note (entitled "Mayhem in Academe") in Harper's Magazine, CCVIII (June, 1954), p. 88.
2. David C. Fowler, Prowess and Charity in the "Perceval" of Chrétien de Troyes (Seattle, 1959), p. 6.
3. Erich Köhler, Ideal und Wirklichkeit in der höfischen Epik, Beiheft 97 zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie (Tübingen, 1956), p. 210.
4. R. S. Loomis, "The Grail Story of Chrétien de Troyes as Ritual and Symbolism," PMLA, LXXI, 850.
5. R. S. Loomis, Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes (New York, 1949), p. 266.
6. "Chrétien's Symbolism and Cathedral Art," PMLA, LXX, 223-243.
7. "Le Graal de Chrétien et la demoiselle au graal," Romania, LXXVI, 1-27.
8. The quotation is included in an obituary notice of Faral by Mlle Julia Bastin: Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, XXXVI (1958), 741.
9. "Le Conte del Graal de Chrétien de Troyes et sa présentation symbolique," Romania, LXXVII, 239.
10. Hildegard Emmel, Formprobleme des Artusromans und der Graldichtung (Bern, 1951); Wilhelm Kellermann, Aufbaustil und Weltbild Chrestiens von Troyes im Percevalroman, Beiheft 88 zur Zeitschrift für Romanische

Philologie (Halle, 1936); Jean Marx, La Légende arthurienne et le Graal (Paris, 1951); D. D. R. Owen, "The Development of the Perceval Story," Romania, LXXX (1959), 473-492; D. de Séchelles, L'Origine du graal (Saint-Brieuc, 1954). For Köhler, see supra, note 3.

11. Chrétien de Troyes (Graz-Cologne, 1954), p. 206, note.
12. PMLA, LXXI (1956), 848.
13. Prowess and Charity, p. 66.
14. David C. Fowler's review of Holmes and Sister Amelia (See note 15), Modern Language Quarterly, XX, 390.
15. Chrétien, Troyes, and the Grail (Chapel Hill, 1959).
16. R. S. Loomis, Wales and the Arthurian Legend (Cardiff, 1956), p. 22.
17. Romania, LXXX, 491-492. See supra, note 10.
18. Chrétien de Troyes (Paris, 1957), pp. 193-197.
19. See also Chrétien, Troyes, and the Grail, pp. 73, 76-77, 110-111, 185, 193, 204.
20. Chrétien de Troyes, p. 197.
21. Ibid., p. 195. See also D. D. R. Owen: "Chrétien was a most skilful transmitter and transmuter of Celtic legend; he was not a Christian allegorist" (Romania, LXXX, 492). As if the two roles were mutually exclusive!
22. William Roach: "[Chrétien] may have been using the Grail as a mysterious, half-understood symbol that would evoke in his readers a feeling of awe, of reverence, of wonder, or merely bewilderment. Or he may, on the other hand, have had a fairly clear conception of the Grail . . . and of the function that it would have fulfilled in his story if he had lived to finish it . . . .All that can be said with certainty is that Chrétien's text does not provide clear and definite justification for either side of the debate" ("The Modena text of the prose Joseph d'Arimathie," Romance Philology, IX [1956], 313).
23. Romania, LXXVI, 24-25.
24. Chrétien de Troyes, p. 196.
25. Ibid., pp. 196-197.
26. Chrétien, Troyes, and the Grail, p. 78.

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DAILY LIVING AS REVEALED IN KING ALFONSO'S CANTIGAS

By John E. Keller, University of North Carolina

King Alfonso X, known as "el Sabio," ruled in Castile and Leon from 1252 until 1284. His reign has been considered a kind of medieval renaissance, and not without cause. The development of many important disciplines and fields of erudition in Spain was due to his support--often direct and financial--and Spanish art, music, law, history, science, and letters would have amounted to a great deal less without his patronage.[1] His contributions to our knowledge of the way in which men lived in the Middle Ages are great and far-reaching and are not paralleled, in some of their aspects, in any other source. And yet the study and interpretation of these contributions have hardly been touched until the present time.[2] When the proper evaluation of these contributions has been made, our knowledge of the past will be vastly widened.

It is not the desire of the writer to answer here any of the arguments brought forth by those who question the value of such knowledge to language and literature, nor is an answer considered necessary. Surely any broadening of our knowledge of the development of language, culture, and art must contribute to a better understanding of literature itself. The very art of translation is enhanced, and often made possible, through a deeper understanding of the background of the men who wrote literary masterpieces.

Although one may profitably study aspects of daily life in several of the Alfonsine works--the famous Lapidaries, for example, or the Book of Chess, Dice and Backgammon, --it is to the Cantigas de Santa María, or Canticles of Holy Mary that one must turn for the richest offerings in this area of investigation. The Cantigas contain by far more than descriptions or word pictures of the life of those times: they offer actual pictures--some three hundred of them--of life in action. These pictures are presented in the form of miniatures in full color and brilliant illumination in gold, and they offer a world undreamed of by those who have not examined them.[3] Any article dealing with these miniatures is most effective when pictures in color can be used. However, the black-and-white reproduction shown at the end of this article can impart some idea as to the richness of detail to be seen in the miniatures.[4]

Cantiga 42 is a fine example of daily life set down pictorially. The pictures, in six separate panels, depict the action of the miracle related in verse and set to music. The caption above each of the panels tells in brief summary the subject of the panel, or at least of the action it contains.

The bare outline of the plot of this miracle--necessary to one's understanding of the pictures--follows. The first panel at the left and top of the page

(the panels are to be examined from left to right and from the top to the bottom of the page) shows workmen repairing a church. They have set the image of the Blessed Virgin in a doorway to avoid having it spattered with mortar. The second panel shows the young men who have come to the field to play ball. In the third panel we see that one of the young men has removed the ring given him by his sweetheart and has placed it upon the stone finger of the image. The finger closes upon the ring, and the young man is terrified. His stance and the position of his hands, as noted in the third panel, make his fear quite evident. In the fourth panel it is apparent that he has forgotten his terror and that he is enjoying the feast that follows his wedding. When he retired with his bride to their bedroom--this in panel 5--he was not permitted to consummate the marriage, for in a vision the Virgin appeared, accompanied by an angel, to tell him that he had betrothed himself to her, that is, to religion. In the last panel it is clear that he has become a hermit and has given up the world. This is, then, the medieval Spanish version of the well-known motif of the statue bride.[5]

Let us now investigate what can be seen of daily life in this Canticle 42. In panel 1 note the workmen and their implements. At ground level stand two masons wearing characteristic hats. The one at the left is shoveling mortar into a basket woven of stiff fiber, a basket which may be seen today in exact replica in the hands of any modern Spanish mason. The three buckets made of wood and bound in metal are being lifted by means of a pulley to an upper level where two other masons are at work. The image of the Virgin may be seen in the archway of the church. Above her hangs one of the lamps seen in so many of the miniatures.

Panel 2 is to some the most interesting of the six. In it is depicted what may be the earliest picture of a baseball game, or at least of a game that in many ways resembles the game we know as baseball. Note that the bat tapers as a baseball bat should, and note, too, the stance of the batter and the underhanded pitch of the pitcher. The three players in the outfield have been crowded in by the artist, much too close to the batter, due to limitations of space. Each of the players wears a kerchief to hold his page-boy hair in place. This kerchief seems to be the typical headdress for men at work, at play, or even at leisure. The dress of the masons and the ball players is typical also, as are the dark hose. The colors of the garments are pastel tints of blue, lavender, cream, and pink. The ball players all wear open-work shoes.

Panel 3 shows a little more clearly the make-up of the image and the altar above which it rests. Tall candles burn before it. The ball player who has placed his ring on the statue's finger and has seen the finger close upon the ring has removed his kerchief, and one can see plainly his carefully curled hair with one long roll across his forehead.

Panel 4 gives an excellent representation of a dining room in the home of a well-to-do family. One can observe the bride's wreath and the groom at her

left wearing the characteristic kerchief. The utensils are visible enough to be identified. Just in front of the lady at the bride's right is one of the raised dishes or escudillas whose contents were expected to serve two people sitting side by side. Another such dish may be seen just to the left of the groom. Note the long table and the feet of the diners clearly visible under it. In the left foreground and on the side of the table closest to the viewer stands a tall wine pitcher which appears to be made of wood bound with metal bands. The people standing at the left of the panel are carrying either covered dishes or small chests.

Panel 5 shows a medieval bed. This is not one of those beds so common in the twelfth century and earlier, that could be folded up, much like the beds used even today in some of the more Spartan-like barracks of military schools; it is a full-sized bed. Note the heavy headpost, deeply carved, and the canopy stretched above the sleepers. If nightgowns were worn in thirteenth-century Spain--and they were, and can even be seen in some of the miniatures of the Cantigas--the sleepers here depicted wore none. There is a long bolster running the full width of the bed. The groom wears the kerchief even when he sleeps.

In this fifth panel, as in the fourth and in the sixth, one can learn a good deal about the construction of the roofing of houses. The overlapping tiles seen all over Spain today, and still manufactured, are easily discerned.

Panel 6 shows the hermit, in the long robes of a cleric, seated before his hut in the forest. He is bearded, another sign of his profession or calling of hermit, for stylish men, both clerical and lay, favored a clean-shaven face. Old men, it is true, are often shown bearded, and in nearly every case Moors and Jews are depicted in the Cantigas with beards, but by and large the gentry seen in the miniatures do not wear beards, whether they are natives of Spain, France, Germany, or some other European land.

King Alfonso's artists were able craftsmen. Their sense of proportion was good, they caught movement quite skillfully, and they were almost photographic in their attention to detail. The trees and the many wild flowers they painted are readily identifiable. Animals are surprisingly well portrayed, even such exotic creatures as the giraffe, the elephant, and the tiger. There are none of those stiff and impossible elephants with tiny piglike ears and tusks set at the wrong angle. All are true to life, and when we examine them we know that the men who drew these animals had seen them in the flesh. Magpies flit through the trees, domestic pigeons strut on the parapets of palaces and roost on the roofs of barns; anyone who needs to learn what farm animals looked like in the thirteenth century in Spain can learn perfectly from the Cantigas de Santa María.

Clothing of all sorts, worn by all classes, can be observed--clerical garb, military, civilian, masculine and feminine. The history of medieval costume should not be written without careful consultation of these pictures.

One could go on at great length, of course. I have merely touched upon what can be seen in a single page of miniatures, hoping to indicate what can be learned when all three hundred-odd have been analyzed and catalogued.

After the death of Alfonso X in 1284 Spanish miniatures passed into decline, or at least failed to approach the excellence of those in such great Alfonsine works as the Cantigas, the Lapidaries, and the Book of Chess. Certainly none in the fourteenth century, or even in the fifteenth, can be compared with the work of the artists of the Learned King. As regards the portrayal of daily life none before or since can be compared favorably.

As stated above, comparatively little has been done in the way of studying the miniatures of the Cantigas. Professor Guerrero Lovillo of the University of Barcelona has gone far, but much remains to be done. When all the miniatures of both codices containing these pictures have been examined and published, as they deserve to be, our conception and understanding of what life was like in the thirteenth century will be quite sound, if not perfect.

NOTES

1. Primera crónica general, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, in Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, V (Madrid, 1906); Alfonso El Sabio, General Estoria, Primera Parte, ed. A. G. Solalinde and Segunda Parte, ed. A. G. Solalinde, Lloyd Kasten and Victor R. B. Oelschlager, 1957; Libros del saber de astronomía, ed. M. Rico y Sinobas, five vols. (Madrid, 1863-67); Lapidario del Rey Don Alfonso X, ed. in facsimile, J. Fernández Montaña (Madrid, 1881); Libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas, ed. in facsimile, J. G. White, The Spanish Treatise on Chess Play Written by Order of King Alfonso the Sage in the Year 1283, 2 vols. (London, 1913); Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio, published by the Real Academia de la Historia, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1807).
2. José Guerrero Lovillo, Las Cántigas de Santa María, estudio arqueológico de sus miniaturas (Madrid, 1949).
3. The manuscripts containing the miniatures are Escorial T. i. I, and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS. Banco Rari 20, (formerly II.1 213).
4. Cantiga XLII, MSS. Escorial T. i. I (or EI).
5. Paull F. Baum, "The Young Man Betrothed to a Statue," PMLA, XXXIV (1919), 523-79; John E. Keller, "The Motif of the Statue Bride in the Cántigas of Alfonso the Learned," Studies in Philology, LVI (1959), 453-58.

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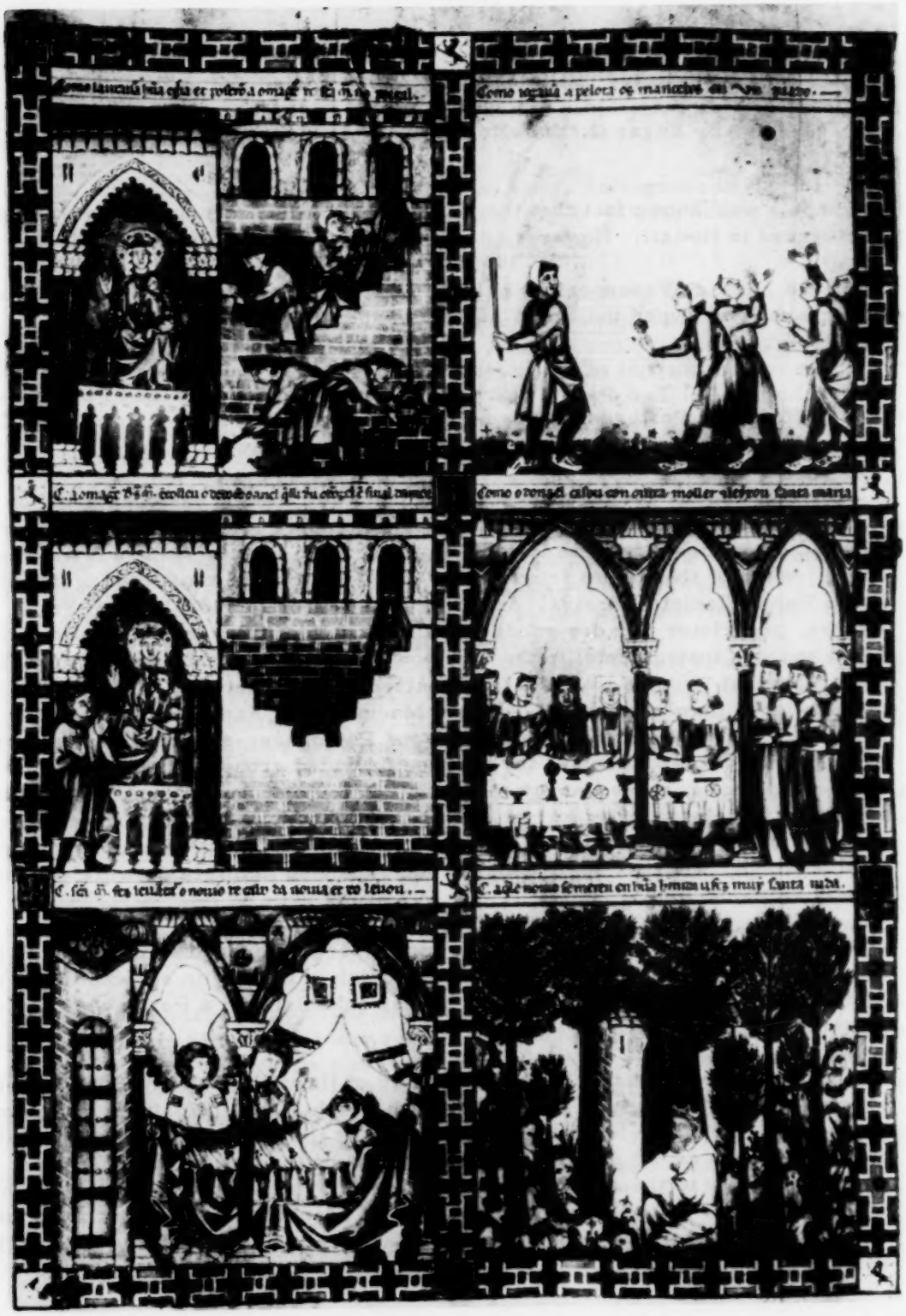

PORTUGUESE IN HAWAII

By Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr., University of Hawaii

It is a well known fact that there is a considerable number of speakers of Portuguese in Hawaii. However, detailed information is difficult to obtain.

José Leite de Vasconcellos in 1901 included Hawaii in his list of Portuguese dialects.[1] He grouped the North American speakers separately.

The fullest account of the Portuguese language in Hawaii is that of the Swiss-born scholar, Dr. Leo Pap.[2] Much of what he writes of mainland Portuguese is true of Hawaiian Portuguese. He was unable, however, to do field work in Hawaii, and he provides no illustrations taken directly from Hawaii.

Immigration of Portuguese-speaking people to Hawaii has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century; by the middle 1870's there were over four hundred Portuguese living in Hawaii, many of them former sailors from whaling ships. Some of them were from Cabo Verde. One of the most distinguished was Jason Perry (Jacinto Pereira, April 15, 1826-March 27, 1883), from Fayal, the Azores, proprietor of a dry goods store in Honolulu. Perry was an early consular agent and was instrumental in the decision to recruit contract laborers (at first from Madeira) to come to Hawaii for contract work. Between 1878 and 1913 Portuguese labor immigrants arrived from Madeira, the Azores, and the European continent. By 1909, over fourteen thousand Portuguese-speaking immigrants had come. Only the Japanese and the Chinese provided groups larger in number; in subsequent years, many immigrants have come from the Philippines, but the Portuguese still remain an important element in the population. A striking difference between the Portuguese and the Chinese and Japanese is that the former came in family groups, whereas early Chinese and Japanese immigrants were predominantly single men.

B. O. Wist indicates[3] that the large number of Portuguese immigrants increased the emphasis given the study of English in the public schools in the 1880's. There were Portuguese language and Sunday schools, and a Portuguese kindergarten.

Portuguese was taught at the University of Hawaii in 1925-1926 because of the special interest of Visiting Professor Maro Beath Jones (1875-1945) of Pomona College. The regular teaching of Portuguese at the University, between 1939 and 1956, began as the direct result of interest on the part of the immigrant group, contrary to the situation in mainland colleges, mentioned by Pap in his study.[4] It came as the result of a concurrent resolution of the legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, introduced by Representative M. G. Paschoal on March 13, 1939.

There was a Portuguese language press in Hawaii between 1885 and 1927. A survey of these newspapers has been prepared for publication in the forthcoming issue of Social Process in Hawaii.

These newspapers give much information about Portuguese in Hawaii. An advertisement in an early paper, for example, says, "N'esta botica encontrarao os nossos patricios quem entenda a lingoa portugueza.[5]

The first volume of the newspaper O Luso Hawaiiano (1885-1886) presents examples of loan words like luna, alalawa (for alalauwa), and poi from Hawaiian, fençar (to "put up fences around"), reef, hoodlums, coolie, mikado, ginger ale from English. The plantation is called plantação rather than fazenda.

Many misprints make details of pronunciation of these loan words hard to determine. Another number of the same paper contains a letter from a reader requesting an explanation of some of the words used in the paper--China-town, kanaka, Empire Saloon. The editor answered the letter at length; he explained the use of the Hawaiian word kanaka with a description of a pronunciation in vogue among the Portuguese of that day: "Kanaka é palavra indigena. . . usada comunamente e para significar a populaçao ou um homem hawaiiano indigena, e muitas portuguezes que a usam n'este sentido dizem erroneamente 'kaanak.'"[6]

Some spellings reflect the tendency of unstressed vowels to disappear: prigo for perigo; often the prosthetic e is omitted before consonant groups consisting of s plus one or two consonants, as in strictamente, Stados Unidos, stampilhas, spedito.[7] Espelicar shows the breaking up of a consonantal cluster.

If we could imagine a Honolulu today without inhabitants, but with written records (street signs, tombstones, and the like) surviving, impressive evidence of the impact of the Portuguese immigrants would still exist.

Material for the study of Honolulu's street names is at hand in seventy-six articles in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. These articles were prepared by George Miranda and were published between January 17 and April 13, 1956. About thirty street names in Honolulu reflect the Portuguese in Hawaii. Among them are names of distinguished Hawaiians of Portuguese descent--Alencastre, Correa, Machado, Osorio, Pacheco; some reflect geography: Azores, Funchal, Madeira; history is recalled in the name of Magellan; Concordia, Lusitana, and San Antonio preserve the memory of Portuguese benevolent societies; Monte derives from the name of the Catholic church of Nossa Senhora do Monte. A few buildings have Portuguese names: Araujo, Farias, Mendonça. A neon sign in front of a bakery reads, Malasadas, Pão Doce. Drive-ins and restaurants feature Leonard's Burguesa, a "Portuguese style hamburger."

Tombstones have inscriptions in Portuguese; deviations from standard

orthography give evidence of linguistic features. So far I have located twenty-five of these inscriptions in two cemeteries. The most interesting linguistically is the one to Maria S. Moraes, reading: "Naceu em Maio 1866 / Faliceu / 4, de Abrile 1927 / Pais a Soua Alma." The form Pais for "paz" reminds one of the phenomenon noted in Macao by Mrs. Graciete Nogueira Batalha. In her study, "Estado actual do dialecto macaense,"[8] she observes a dipthongization of the vowel a in the ending -az, as in rapáis for "rapaz," which is parallel.

Pap has told succinctly the story of the steady decline in the use of Portuguese in Hawaii from 1881, when it was well preserved, through 1912, when there was a partial ignorance of it, to 1941 when the statement could be made that only a few second or third generation Portuguese of Hawaii could speak or read the language.

Young people today are inclined to overplay their lack of knowledge. They may admit a knowledge of a few swear words and will say that their parents use them to prevent their children from understanding. However, on demand they can produce some vocabulary items--and with Madeiran or Azorean pronunciation, too.

Churches in Hawaii now make very little use of Portuguese. For many years there were Protestant churches in Honolulu and in Hilo with services in the language. Special services in Portuguese were also given by the Catholic priests, who were able to speak the language, though few were native speakers. A recent interview (April 9, 1960) with Father Lawrence (Mampaey), pastor of the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte, elicited the information that just within the past year the conventional use of Portuguese in confession on the part of the oldest members has stopped in the parish; more use of the language is made on the outer islands and in rural areas, he said. But thirty-three years ago, it was said, "At present all the missionaries are familiar with it [the Portuguese language]."[9]

Some of the older Portuguese men and women in informal situations together may still use Portuguese; it is possible to hear fluent, colorful language spoken for hours at a time--Portuguese of marked regional flavor, spoken by people unschooled in the tongue, who have not visited the homeland and are unable to read or write the language. Differences in pronunciation and usage have been leveled away, but features mentioned by Pap and Rogers in their studies of American, Azorean, and Madeiran language can, in varying degrees, be observed. However, among Hawaii's Portuguese today, English occupies the chief role as the medium of expression and communication.

Meanwhile, most people in Hawaii are familiar with pão doce and malassadas. Linguiça sausage, found in many markets, is said to have been introduced commercially into Hawaii by Jacinth M. De Gouvea, who was born February 18, 1872, in São Miguel, arrived in Hawaii in 1880, and died in Honolulu June 12, 1956. The words chorição, linguiça, and morcela are understood. Special Portuguese food names are listed by Katherine Bazore in her Hawaiian and Pacific Foods.[10]

The matter of the influence and traces of Portuguese in various forms of the English used in Hawaii is one which awaits a detailed and convincing analysis.

Dr. Elizabeth Carr of the University of Hawaii's Speech Department has recently summarized the chief languages in contact in Hawaii in the period since Captain James Cook's discovery of the islands in 1778, listing them as Hawaiian, English, Chinese (1876), Portuguese (1878), Japanese (1886), Puerto Rican Spanish (1901), Korean (1904), and Ilocano (1907).[11]

Interesting vocabulary correspondences were observed by island residents. S. R. Dalgado has dealt with Portuguese words of Japanese origin, such as kaki (caqui) for "persimmon," and with Japanese words of Portuguese origin, such as bobura (Portuguese abóbora) for "gourd."[12] Hawaiian people of Japanese or Portuguese background have mentioned in casual conversations such words as interesting coincidences. The Hawaiian word for codfish, pakaliao, is from Portuguese, but the fish is not native to Hawaiian waters.

A rich field for linguistic study for the student of Portuguese in Hawaii lies in the area of the Hawaiian dialect of American English, which has in some measure replaced an earlier Creole plantation lingua franca. A point of departure is the account by John E. Reinecke and Aiko Tokimasa of this dialect.[13] Their study attributes certain features to Portuguese influence, but not consistently. Many parallels may be cited between the Hawaii English dialect and Portuguese, although it is too much to say that Portuguese is the source of all, or even of most, of them. An example of the complexity of the problem is afforded by one feature of the dialect, the use of no can for cannot (p. 124),[14] or similarly of no sabe (savvy) which may owe its use in Hawaii to Chinese immigrants, who perhaps were familiar with such expressions in Chinese Pidgin.[15] This article mentions as loanwords from Portuguese: baccaliaos, a word applied to the Portuguese in Hawaii (p. 55), and e(a, ai, or i)kuriup, a mild oath or exclamation of surprise (p. 128). The word ginacas for machines invented by Henry Gabriel Ginaca[16] for coring and sizing pineapples is Italian rather than Portuguese, as the article erroneously states.[17]

Comparisons of features of the Hawaii island dialect of English with the various important languages in contact would be helpful; a clearer idea of the amount due to Portuguese influence might thereby be obtained. Without attempting to assign any of the following features to Portuguese influence, a list of those in the dialect which have a parallel in Portuguese can be made:

1, The use of adjectives for nouns, and the reverse: a dumb for "a dumb man," rascal for "mischievous" (p. 55);

2, The use of stay as an auxiliary, referred in the article to estar: "Us stay sweating like hell" (p. 123);

3, One as indefinite article (p. 58);

4, Have for there is, there are: "By this tree have some golds buried" (p. 124);

5, A confusion between present and past participles. Compare Portuguese estar deitado and ter deitado, "to be lying down," "to have lain down" (p. 124);

6, The use of for in place of to with infinitive: "two hamburgers for take out" (p. 124);

7, What as relative: "Anything what you want" (p. 124);

8, The adjective as quasi-substantive: "Ooh, the sassy!" (p. 126);

9, Prepositional phrase introduced by with for some adverbs (p. 126);

10, Word order of verb before subject after interrogative what and where: "What means 'irony'?" (p. 128);

11, Certain phonological substitutions, many of them vocalic (p. 128);

12, The use of a circumflex rise-fall intonation at the end of simple questions (p. 128).

F. M. Rogers gives an interesting description of the special Madeiran speech melody as the eighth of the phonetic characteristics of the dialect.[18]

Portuguese words and brief texts add color and linguistic evidence in seven stories by Elma T. Cabral, published in Paradise of the Pacific between 1946 and 1954.[19] Mrs. Cabral's Portuguese words come from first-hand information and betray Madeiran usage. Semilha (peculiarly Madeiran) appears, as well as batata and batatinha. Hawaiian loanwords are used, such as aloga for aloha (showing how Mrs. Cabral's grandmother dealt with the Hawaiian h phoneme), and 'ukulele. Hybrid language examples occur: "I drink da bread, And eat da wine, Com cheiro da linguica." Printer's errors may be noted, which Mrs. Cabral has been able to correct for me. "Flora os outros que ella mamoa" illustrates both a printer's error (flora should be corrected to fora) and the Madeiran -a suffixed to the preterite third person singular ending of the verb.[20] There are many examples of such linguistic phenomena in her stories.

Mrs. Lucille de Silva Canario[21] has prepared a translation of the log of the voyage of the Thomas Bell from Madeira to Hawaii in 1887-1888, of value for information about early immigrants; it still awaits a publisher.

We finish with mention of the enthusiasm of Jimmy Carvalho, of Honolulu's radio station KIKI, in charge of a Sunday "Return to Portugal" program. He is making a local one-hour film in color in commemoration of the five hundredth anniversary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator, which some of you may one day see. This film will contain shots of the stop-over of the Portuguese training ship, the Afonso de Albuquerque which, as this paper is being read, is anchored in Pearl Harbor, where its officers and crew are being feted by the Portuguese of Hawaii.

NOTES

1. José Leite de Vasconcellos, Esquisse d'une dialectologie portugaise (Paris, Lisbon, 1901), p. 24.
2. Leo Pap, Portuguese-American Speech (New York, 1949).
3. B. O. Wist, A Century of Public Education in Hawaii (Honolulu, 1940), p. 73.
4. Pap, pp. 43-44.
5. No attempt has been made to correct the spelling. The early newspapers had many difficulties, especially because of the lack of diacritical marks in the type. O Luso Hawaiiano (Benson, Smith, & Ca.), August 15, 1885.
6. Ibid., May 25, 1885.
7. See E. B. Williams: From Latin to Portuguese (Philadelphia, 1938), p. 65.
8. Revista portuguesa de filologia, IX (1958), p. 183.
9. Fr. Reginald Yzendoorn, History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands (Honolulu, 1927), p. 223. See also, Antonio Perry, "The Catholic Church in Hawaii," The Centennial Book (Honolulu, 1920), p. 66: "There is scarcely a church where the priests do not use the Portuguese language in addition to the English and Hawaiian languages."
10. Katherine Bazore, Hawaiian and Pacific Foods (New York, 1940), pp. 77-79.
11. Honolulu Star-Bulletin (April 17, 1960), Feature Section, 3.
12. S. R. Dalgado, Glossário Luso-Asiatico (Coimbra, 1919-1921), 2 vols. See Anthony Xavier Soares, Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages, Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda, 1936), Vol. 74, a translation from S. R. Dalgado's Influência do vocabulário português em línguas asiáticas (abrangendo cêrca de cinquenta idiomas) (Coimbra, 1913).
13. "The English Dialect of Hawaii," American Speech (February, 1934), 48-58; (April, 1934), 122-132.
14. These and following references to Hawaii island dialect are to Reinecke and Tokimasa, article cited.
15. Charles G. Leland, Pidgin-English Sing-Song, 2nd edit. (London, 1887); p. 2 of the Introduction speaks of the Portuguese element in Chinese Pidgin-English. He gives instances of no can (p. 65), listed in his vocabulary on p. 130, and

of no savvy (p. 68). He reminds the student that phonetic information which may be deduced from written Pidgin-English is not definite enough to be subject to precise interpretation; pronunciation varies from speaker to speaker.

16. Lived from 1878 to October 19, 1918, when he died in Berkeley, California. For description of the machine, see Maxwell O. Johnson, The Pineapple (Honolulu, 1935), pp. 240-241.
17. Reinecke and Tokimasa, p. 56, where Ginaca is called a "local Portuguese." Miss Ynez Gibson, who knew the family, assures us that the Ginacas (sometimes the name is spelled Gianaca) were Italian.
18. F. M. Rogers, "Insular Portuguese Pronunciation: Madeira," Hispanic Review, XIV (July, 1946), 247.
19. "Grandpa was a Troubadour," Paradise of the Pacific, Honolulu, LVIII (Dec. 1946) 17-20.
"Boas Festas," PP, LIX (Dec. 1947), 57-59.
"The Romance of Roza das Vacas," PP, Honolulu, LX (Dec. 1948), 97-100.
"The Bells Tolled with Passion," PP, LXI (Dec. 1949), 47-50, 125.
"Turn da roun' Dahlia!" PP, LXIII (Annual 1952), 115-116, 131-132.
"Maezinha's Dilemma," PP, LXIV (Annual 1953), 48-50.
"The Irresistible Henrique," PP, LXVI (Annual 1954), 77-80.
20. See Rogers, 244.
21. Living at Hilo, Hawaii, P. O. Box 602.

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN MALLARMÉ'S POÉSIES

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In the domain of music Mallarmé was an amateur, yet he had a very noble concept of the basis of music. His concept of music was similar to that of poetry, for he says: "La Musique et les Lettres sont la face alternative ici élargie vers l'obscur; scintillante là, avec certitude, d'un phénomène, le seul, je l'appelai, l'Idée."[1] However, this concept of music took little account of technical difficulties in order to go to the heart of the problem of creation: that of utterance. Therein lies for him the relationship between music and poetry: both are "identical in their principle, which is the same need of an inner sound to be uttered."[2] The utterance itself is the same in music as that which Mallarmé demanded of poetry; it is "intellectual utterance."[3] This intellectual word is the important aspect, for otherwise there is no creation, no result. But there is another aspect of this concept, that of the silences which accompany the utterance. There was for him a grandiose tonality of "music of silence" which filled his soul at the concerts he attended, and it is this kind of music that often inspired his poetry.[4] This poetry was much more important to him than music, for, after all, it was his life.

Even though music and poetry are alike in their basic aspects, Mallarmé reserved the right of "transposition of the symphony into the Book,"[5] and he was only taking back what belonged to poetry in the first place. So he demanded from poetry what he asked of music, and even more--more than an indication, which the sound of musical instruments supplies and our imagination completes. He demanded a "divine transposition from the fact to the ideal."[6] This is the form that poetic utterance must take; it goes beyond the utterance of musical instruments to a fuller symbolism, which does not mar the native beauty of nature's face, and, at the same time, it retains the essential musicality of the poet's perception.[7] It is in this demand that Mallarmé uses those famous words: évocation, allusion, suggestion, which require more of the reader than imagination--that is, full cooperation in the poetic creation--and this in spite of the hermeticism of the poetry or the difficulty of the poet's concept.

Obviously, in this rigorous concept (idea, utterance, music of silence, transposition, suggestion) the instruments themselves, whether pen or bow, whether of poet or of musician, count for little. So it is not surprising to find, upon a cursory glance, that musical instruments play a minor role in the Poésies. Further observation reveals that the musical instruments chosen by Mallarmé in the Poésies are ancient and outmoded, such as the cittern, bandore, harpsichord, buccina, rebec, and viol. Others which are still in use and have their origins in remote antiquity are the flute (which in "L'Après-midi d'un Faune" alludes to an ancient and mythical free world and in "Placet futile" evokes the

eighteenth century), the cymbal, the tambour or tabor, and the harp. The only instruments that can be called modern are the trumpets, and immediately one calls to mind that trumpets do not appear in the Poésies before "Hérodiade." A third quick discovery is that Mallarmé, in general, uses musical instruments for sight impressions rather than for sound impressions. Also, the instruments do not correspond to instruments that we may have seen or heard, but rather to the idea of them that Mallarmé had formed in his private symbolism, which became more rarified and refined with the passage of time. It follows, then, that whatever musical instruments Mallarmé has chosen must fit into his great concept of the "Idea." They are only a contributory factor in the utterance, and, no matter what their own intrinsic music may be, it necessarily gives way before the essential musicality of the poem. The important thing is the symbolism, the delicate evocation, or what Mallarmé calls "suggestion." Within this context it is possible to see that Mallarmé's use of musical instruments throws some light on his "interior landscape" and contributes an extra dimension to the interpretation of some of the poems.

For this purpose the poem "Sainte," even in its early version, is the pivotal work. It looks before and after, so to speak. The first two quatrains refer to an earlier music, both of instruments and book, and the last two quatrains evoke the brilliance and harmony of the music of silence. In a sense, the first half of the poem is a retrospective glance over the already completed works, while the latter half looks forward to an intensive preoccupation with the "Poem" of Mallarmé's dream. The earlier works offer little difficulty, for in them the musical instruments lend themselves to the general movement of each poem. This is especially true in "Les Fleurs," where the cittern is lost in a thundering Hosannah and is remarkable only because of its archaism and the repetition of the s sound in the line. In "Le Guignon" three instruments are used; tabor or drum as a simile, buccina for its curiosity and alliteration in buccin bizarre, and rebec mainly to rime with bec and sec. The use of the rebec in the hands of a râcleur who frequents "des marmots, des putains, et de la vieille engeance" is rather surprising, for it was formerly a noble instrument played in great halls and manors.

"Placet futile" is a precious poem evoking the salons of the eighteenth century, and one would expect the use of the flute, a favorite instrument of that century. In the revised version the idea of the poem remains the same, but it is expressed with more refinement and delicacy. Although "Feuillet d'album" is a much later poem, it is a reversion towards the preciosity of "Placet futile." Dedicated to the daughter of a poet friend, this poem presents Mallarmé as a gallant and flatterer. He tells her in a hyper-refined manner, smiling all the while, that the brilliance of his poetry ("le bois de mes diverses flûtes") fades before the charm of her smile.

The first really striking effect with which Mallarmé endows musical

instruments is in "Le Pitre châtié." The cymbal of the poem again appeals more to the eye than to the ear. Nevertheless it is a fascinating image in a poem with real depth and overtones of tragedy. The platitudinous line of the first version, "Le soleil du matin séchait mon corps nouveau," became: "Hilaire or de cymbale à des poings irrité / Tout à coup le soleil frappe la nudité." This sudden clash infuses life into the otherwise banal pose of the poet who, as Harlequin, wishes to abandon the stage. In his escape from his Muse, the clown tears through the tent wall and jumps into glacial waters. He rises cleansed from the icy wave only to discover that his stage make-up, which is the oil of his consecration, his genius, has also been washed away. This poem is an expression of one of the fundamental problems--even more elemental than his search for the "Poem" or the "Book"--that haunted Mallarmé all his life.

This problem has many facets in his poetry: for example, the conflict between the flesh and the spirit, or the conflict between despair and lassitude on the one hand, and the rigorous and sterile pursuit of his ideal on the other. Much of his poetry expresses a nostalgia for a lost terrestrial paradise to which he wishes to go in order to escape from his implacable concept. Such a paradise is evoked in "L'Après-midi d'un Faune." We have seen that the flute represents Mallarmé, and, even more, Mallarmé in the guise of a gallant. After the publication of "L'Après-midi d'un Faune," he was irrevocably connected with the Faun and the Faun with the flute. He himself played along with the game, as is shown by his "Offrandes à divers du Faune."

The poem marks the temporary victory of the flesh and his former dreams in Mallarmé. In this composition the flute, the Faun's only companion, sings for him his memories. The instrument of the Faun is the double flute or aulos of the ancient Greeks. This flute had a single mouthpiece and two reeds, which explains allusions such as deux tuyaux and jonc jumeau. Mallarmé subordinated the instrument to the atmosphere of the entire work, and so there is, in addition to a general symbolism, a special signification of the flute in the poem.

The first evocation introduces the secret known by the reeds alone, and the Faun assures himself that "Ne murmure point d'eau que ne verse ma flûte / Au bosquet arrosé d'accords." Next there is the image which describes the "birth" of the pipes which accompanies the rise of love, or rather, of desire, in the Faun. The idea of the secret is reintroduced in the lines, "Mais baste! arcane tel élut pour confident / Le jonc vaste et jumeau dont sous l'azur on joue" /, which begin a sensuous description of the dream of the reeds, which is also the Faun's dream. But the flute does not give up its secret and the Faun dismisses it to its fate: "Tâche donc, instrument des fuites, ô maligne / Syrinx de refleurir aux lacs où tu m'attends!" This is a multiple reference: to the secret of the flight of the nymphs, to the history of the naiad, Syrinx, and to the need that the reeds have of the Faun in order to sing the harmonies of their dream. Abandoning his flute, the Faun wanders through a series of memories, daydreams, and desires until he falls asleep. In this poem, the flute partakes

of all the associations with which Mallarmé endows the scene, yet there is something disturbing about this terrestrial paradise and its brutish inhabitant with his primitive contentment.

A far more satisfactory "paradise lost" is evoked in the first two quatrains of "Sainte." It is also satisfactory as an example of a visible transposition from the fact to the ideal, for this poem, as many subsequent ones, presents in the first stanzas a concrete image which is transformed into an ideal in the last stanzas. The poet describes a statue of Saint Cecilia standing in front of an art window. Half-hidden in the folds of her garments are musical instruments, symbolizing the art of pure music. Lying open in front of her, much more in evidence than the instruments, is a book, symbolizing the musical art of poetry. However, this scene describes the art of the former paradise against which the poet is going to oppose a new art in the last two quatrains.

The instruments again are seen rather than heard, for the sandalwood of the viol, now losing its gilt, formerly gleamed with flute or bandore. It is curious that Mallarmé says "flute or bandore," rather than "flute and bandore." He may be referring to past associations. For example, in "Apparition" he had described de blancs sanglots wrung from de mourantes violes: "C'était le jour béni de ton premier baiser." Here the viol symbolizes his wife when they were both young. The same symbol is used in "Don du poème" where he describes her voice as rappelant viole et clavecin, hoping she will accept the "ugly" poem to which he had given birth during the night.[8] The bandore is used later in the sonnet, "Une dentelle s'abolit," and there it takes on the symbolism of childbirth.

Now, since "Sainte" is an evocation of a former period of bliss, the first two stanzas evoke, with the aid of musical instruments, two of its happiest scenes. The doubling of the viol with the flute, symbolizing his wife and himself as a gay young blade, recalls the happy days of their youth before their marriage. The doubling of the viol with the bandore recalls the birth of his daughter the year before, and by extension the joys of paternity. But since the poet is haunted by his ideal, he is impelled to give up this earthly paradise in pursuit of the "Poem." The transposition takes place in the last two stanzas. The old sandalwood gives way to an immaterial instrument, a harp, formed in the art window by something even lighter than the angel's wing--son vol du soir-- which is plucked by the upraised finger of the saint, who now becomes musicienne du silence. The use of vol for aile reinforces the Mallarméan theme of absence, and the angel is an evocation of his poetic ideal.

The music of silence evoked in this poem becomes more rigorous in subsequent poems as Mallarmé's quest for the "Poem" heightens and his expression becomes more hermetic. The trumpets in four of the poems following "Sainte" are strangely silent. Each is characterized by a color--gold, silver, azure--and for each the color is the active agent. The symbolism of the trumpets

within each poem may not always be clear, but there is one thing in common: that is, the trumpets represent the strong and virile triumph of someone else, by contrast with the flute which represents Mallarmé himself. Even in the "Vers de Circonstance," Mallarmé juxtaposes his own accomplishments with those of a painter of military scenes: "Dupray dont l'esprit aux combats / Comme l'or d'un clairon se dresse / Riez que le Faune très bas / Enfle sa flûte à votre adresse."[9]

The bugle is a special form of the trumpet which Mallarmé uses to add a military resonance to this offering, just as he does in "Hommage" to Puvis de Chavannes. In the first quatrain of this sonnet, benumbed dawn sounds bugles of azur which, by a parallelism in the two tercets, are transposed into the gloire of Puvis de Chavannes. The bugles have a special significance, for they sound the reveille of the early morning just as glory is to illuminate the painter at la source nouvelle of the future. Although dawn is a personal enemy of Mallarmé's, since it impinges upon the whiteness of the paper under his lamp, representing the intrusions of worldly cares upon his dream of the "Poem," nevertheless it does represent here the triumph of his friend. Dawn is also part of the imagery of the trumpets in "Ouverture ancienne." The incantation of the nurse describes Hérodiade's coldness, boredom, and narcissism, and finally evokes the glacier which offers "Ses trompettes d'argent obscur aux vieux sapins," symbolizing the warrior who is away fighting in the Cisalpine lands. The question is whether he will come back soon enough to save Hérodiade from herself by triumphing over her. Then the nurse evokes the early light of the conquering dawn in warm imagery: "A l'ongle qui parmi le vitrage s'élève / Selon le souvenir des trompettes, le vieux / Ciel brûle, et change un doigt en un cierge envieux." But she realizes that it will be not the day of triumph, but the red day of death for Hérodiade in her aloofness.

The "Hommage" to Wagner was written just after the death of the musician and predicts the triumph of his music over the indifference of the masses and recalcitrant critics. From this strident music the immortal Wagner will arise like "Trompettes tout haut d'or pamé sur les vélins." The gold of the trumpets on the vellum here symbolize Wagner's genius, his valuable contribution to music, and, finally, the strong use that Wagner made of the brasses in his orchestral lines.

In "Prose pour des Esseintes" the trumpets are again of gold, and here they represent the triumph of modern poetry. This is the last long poem Mallarmé wrote, and it is one of the hardest to understand. It has been both over-maligned and over-praised, and the commentaries are at such variance that the poem may never be really understood. There is reason to believe, however, that the triumph mentioned is that of poetry at the half-way mark, but that this poetry of his contemporaries will be superseded when Mallarmé finishes his glacial "Poem," if he has the time.

With the bandore of the sonnet "Une dentelle s'abolit" there is a return to the sterile "interior landscape" of Mallarmé. It is a sad and empty landscape, for he confesses (this is about 1887) that his "Poem" has not yet been born. The procedure is the same as in "Sainte": the two quatrains are an objective description of an empty room, and the two tercets are the transposition in which the poet describes his soul, which suffers under the comparison. The quatrains say, in effect, that the curtains of the window efface themselves before the light of the rising sun which reveals an empty room; the conflict of the curtains results in such whiteness that they become almost indistinguishable from the light and so seem to float rather than become tangled. But (this mais is the important word, because it denotes an opposition or even a heightening effect) there is in the soul of the poet an instrument which renders him capable of producing the "Poem," yet he has not done so because his pure dream has been corrupted by the ideal of the day rather than by the ideal of the night.

The bandore with its possibilities of music of silence suggests to Mallarmé, by its very form, the idea of birth. In this poem it symbolizes also the very concept that Mallarmé had formed of the Ideal. With this Ideal and this music of silence he could have created a mystic art ("vers quelque fenêtre"). These tercets are an admission, perhaps not of sterility, but of defection from his Ideal ("chez qui le rêve se dore"). Nevertheless the idea of sterility is enclosed in the image of this musical instrument which has not yet given birth to the poem, and the general effect of the poem is one of poignant sadness and extreme pessimism.

There is indeed a sort of haunting melancholy in the associations evoked by the musical instruments in the Poésies. They accompany a difficult search for the "Poem" and they underscore the anguish of the bitter nights of frustration, but they also suggest the gentleness of happier days and contribute to the poetic utterance. Thus, the musical instruments to which Mallarmé confides his struggles help, in a way, to interpret the interior resonances of his Ideal as they play for him and for us an awesome music of silence.

NOTES

1. "La Musique et les Lettres," Oeuvres complètes de Stéphane Mallarmé, eds. Henri Mondor and G. Jean-Aubry, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1945), p. 649. All citations used in this paper are from the Pléiade edition. Translations are mine.
2. Letter to Claudel, quoted on p. 1603.
3. See "Variations sur un sujet: Crise de vers," pp. 367-368.
4. See "Crise de vers," p. 367. The words tu, nul (see especially "Le Démon de l'Analogie," Poèmes en prose, p. 273), nu abound in the prose, as do stérile, absence, azur in the poetry.
5. "Crise de vers," p. 367.

6. "La divine transposition, pour l'accomplissement de quoi existe l'homme, va du fait a l'idéal": "Théodore de Banville," Medaillons et Portraits, p. 552.
7. "La Musique et les Lettres," p. 645. Mallarmé deemed this passage important enough to reproduce in the third version of "Crise de vers" (p. 366). In the latter the words allusion and suggestion are underlined.
8. The first line of the poem, "Je t'apporte l'enfant d'une nuit d'Idumée!" hints that the "child" is Hérodiade and also suggests the manner of her "birth." The kings of Idumea were a sexless, pre-Adamite people who reproduced without women. The poet created his poem all alone like a king of Idumea.
9. "Offrandes à divers du Faune," VIII, 112.

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DON JUAN IN AMERICA

By Armand E. Singer, West Virginia University

Don Juan, the most international figure evolved by Western literature, might well be expected to reach America's shores, eager for further adventures. Let us inquire into his success on this side of the Atlantic.[1]

The greatest popularity enjoyed by the Don Juan theme in America has almost always occurred on the stage, in works of foreign origin, preferably to the accompaniment of music. Chronologically first among stage versions is Don Juan; or, The Libertine Destroyed. In fact, this hardy perennial would seem to represent Don Juan's introduction to the colonial scene, no matter what the medium employed. Philadelphia received the signal honor of the initial performance, December 20, 1792. The principals, with an almost identical supporting cast, soon gave the New York première, March 13, 1793. It was very popular fare. From examination of incomplete records, I note over a hundred performances during a period of seventy years or so, in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Alexandria, and Charleston, South Carolina, the last one seemingly in New York, April 3, 1865.[2] This "tragic pantomical [sic] entertainment," so subtitled in one printed version, had Gluck's lovely music; songs, choruses, duets, etc., by William Reeve; and a libretto possibly by David Garrick. The story is usually said to come from Shadwell's Libertine (1676), but the short printed summaries now extant make positive ascription difficult. Charles Antony Delpini directed the play, although apparently he was not its author.

Next to be chronicled is The Libertine, an English adaptation of Mozart's Don Giovanni, by Henry Rowley Bishop, first performed in London in 1817. Bishop arranged the music and Isaac Pocock did the libretto, based on Shadwell's Libertine. The opera reached New York later the same year, November 7, and was given again on September 21, 1818. The curtain rose another thirteen times in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington between October 31, 1818, and November 4, 1823.

Hard on the heels of Bishop's piece comes Don Giovanni; or, A Spectre on Horseback!, "A Comic, Heroic, Operatic, Tragic, Pantomimic, Burletta-Spectacular Extravaganza," in two acts, by Thomas John Dibdin. It reached New York March 8, 1819, for the first of many performances, one as late as the week of April 18, 1864. Philadelphia did not see it until 1824.[3]

The original Mozart Don Giovanni owes its American première, May 23, 1826, to none other than Lorenzo da Ponte himself. The librettist of Mozart's opera, a bit of a Don Juan in his own right and sometime crony of Casanova, had been living in New York for twenty years, teaching Italian literature at Columbia

University. Backed by some influential friends he persuaded a Sevillian Spaniard named Manuel García to present Don Giovanni. The production must surely rank as a classic example of benevolent (?) nepotism. García (though a tenor) sang the leading role, his wife was Donna Elvira, his son Leporello, and his daughter María Malibrán, Zerlina. It achieved considerable success, enough to bring about a revival of an English version (Bishop's), quickly staged at the Chatham Theater. This rendition remained current in New York until Max Maretzek reintroduced the Italian original in 1850. The latter reached the Metropolitan Opera House November 29, 1883.[4]

What success did these various Don Juan versions enjoy relative to that of other contemporary productions? They broke no records, though the nineteenth century had neither the population nor an educated public to insure the years-long runs of occasional modern plays and musicals. For their day they were respectably successful if not memorable. In Philadelphia, for instance, between 1792 and 1799, there were sixteen stagings of the Don Juan pantomime, and eleven more between 1835 and 1853. During this general period outstandingly popular pieces, such as the comedy The Day After the Wedding, reached thirty-seven performances, 1812-1834; Hamlet was put on forty-three times, 1811-1834 (and Macbeth about the same number); Richard the Third, sixty times, 1810-1834; Bulwer-Lytton's The Lady of Lyons, 164 times, 1838-55. This latter figure was something of a record. By February 7, 1955, the Metropolitan had done Don Giovanni 115 times, although statistics for some other reasonably comparable favorites are considerably more impressive: Carmen, 320 times; La Bohème, 339 times; Faust, 312 times.[5]

In addition to these more famous plays, there were such short-lived pieces as Don Giovanni in New York (1841), Don Giovanni in Gotham (1842), Don Giovanni the Second (1874), and Don Juan, Jr., or, Leporello, the Naughty Fellow (1881), all apparently influenced to some extent by Mozart's opera, if we may trust the evidence of the titles.[6]

A San Francisco author named Henry Bertram Lister not only reworked Dumas' Don Juan de Maraña (1939), excising the prologue and the last two acts and inserting an entirely new final scene, but did another play called A Renaissance Gangster, or, Adventures of Don Juan (1935). I have not seen these dramas, but might hazard the guess that they are no masterpieces.

There were other plays, less derivative and more serious in nature. The famous nineteenth-century actor Richard Mansfield wrote his own Don Juan, first given in New York on May 18, 1891. Though not a notable success, Mansfield retained it in his repertoire for some time.[7] A generation and a half later, Henri Bataille's L'Homme à la rose (1920) was adapted by Lawrence Langner and produced in New York in 1921, starring Lou Tellegen, matinee idol of the day. Recently (November 23, 1955), Edwin Justus Mayer's Last Love of Don Juan, a

satirical comedy, opened in New York for a short, off-Broadway run. Finally, we must not forget Shaw's Man and Superman, something of a favorite with Americans, and the excerpted third act, "Don Juan in Hell," which enjoyed phenomenal favor in the Charles Boyer-Charles Laughton-Sir Cedric Hardwicke production a few years ago.

Most of the works cited are European or from European originals, the only serious exceptions being the plays by Mayer and Mansfield. One dramatist, however, perhaps deserves separate treatment: Harry Kemp, who did a poetic adaptation of Tirso's Burlador under the title The Love-Rogue (1923) and two original one-act plays as well. These one-act pieces, Don Juan's Christmas Eve (1924), and Don Juan in a Garden (1924), both give hints of considerable sensitivity, but such lines as the following where Don Juan observes of women, "I have become so famed a prodigy / That if I don't deceive them, they do me," suggest that Kemp's poetic vision badly outdistanced his pedestrian muse.

Motion pictures have for some time constituted a profitable source of Don Juan versions, at least in Hollywood's eyes. Among the "big" productions may be cited Don Juan's Three Nights (1926) from Lajos Biro's novel, Don Juan from Byron, with John Barrymore as the lead, and The Adventures of Don Juan (1949), with Errol Flynn.[8]

Music has played a relatively minor role in the American Don Juan story. Other than the Mozart opera, Strauss' popular tone poem, and Gluck's ballet (as used in the 1792 pantomime described above), none of which is native, we find only a short ballet (music by Mozart; 1936-1937) by Patricia Bowman, José Limón's Don Juan Fantasia ballet (music by Liszt; 1953), a few minor adaptations of the old masters, and some popular songs--not a very impressive total.[9]

Although such great writers of Don Juan literature as Tirso, Molière, and Zorrilla never struck particularly responsive chords in our midst,[10] Mozart obviously fared reasonably well, and, quantitatively speaking, so did Byron. His unfinished Don Juan provoked a sizable number of "concluding" cantos. Mixing philandering and philosophy in the approved Byronian fashion, their endless eight-versed pentameter stanzas really lack nothing but Byron's genius for this sort of thing and are, of course, as dead as the fabled dodo. Best of the lot are doubtless Isaac Starr Clason's Don Juan: Cantos IX, X, and XI (1823) and Don Juan: Cantos XVII-XVIII (1825). The second of these appeared shortly after Byron's death and as usual purports to be the latter's own continuation. There are 103 stanzas in Canto XVII and another 113 in Canto XVIII, which deal with the already encountered figures of the Duchess of Fitz-Fulke, Aurora Raby, and others, in reasonably clever Byronic verse heavily salted with philosophical digressions. Such typical penultimate and final rhymes as "I glory at / Poet Laureat /sic/" abound. Canto XVIII limps to its close: "A kind farewell!--Believe me 'tis no lie-- / If you are weary, Reader!--so am I."

In similar vein is Henry Morford's The Rest of Don Juan (1846), in seven cantos, at the end of which the hero disappears from a wild party in circumstances implying that the Devil carried him off to Hell. Still another continuation is Richard Hovey's Don Juan: Canto XVII. Supposedly written by Byron in Hell, it brings the time up to 1899, when it was composed. "Byron" discusses being fingerprinted in Hades and Sir Thomas Lipton's attempt to lift the yatching cup. The story never gets under way, bogging down in chit-chat, divagations, and satire, in spite of some lively rhymes, e.g., "Ellinor / hell in her" and "satyriasis / your bias is."[11]

Almost completely divorced from the traditional forms of the legend are such short stories as Christopher La Farge's "Don Juan Miscarried" (1952) or Leonard Cline's "Don Juan in Baltimore" (1926). In Ludwig Lewisohn's partly autobiographical novel, Don Juan (1923), the protagonist retains little more than the name, applied to him unjustly in derogation by his enemies, for, although his one affair is extramarital, his wife is a shrew and our sympathies are all for the star-crossed lovers. Among the modern literary giants, the closest approach to a Don Juan story would probably be This Side of Paradise (1920). Fitzgerald's egoist hero actually calls himself a "Don Juan," albeit the connection with the legend is rather tenuous.

Poetry fares no better. Usually able minor poetess Louise Bogan is guilty of a little ditty in which her Don Juan says: "I never had a girl for lover / Who could discern when love was over."[12] There are more ambitious efforts, to be sure. Harry Kemp's Don Juan's Note-Book (1929) runs to over a hundred fairly short stanzas, but the level of the philosopher's musings rarely rises above that of the introductory couplet: "To lose in love, Love holds the least of crimes; / Even I, Don Juan, was crossed in love at times!" Lee Fairchild has a collection of verse called Don Juan's Bouquet (1903), of equal, or even lesser merit. Neither of these two collections purports to tell a story, as does Louis How in The Other Don Juan (1932). The latter admits to retelling in verse the Mérimée nouvelle, Les Âmes du purgatoire. The poem is not without its felicitous bits, but it is overly long and monotonous. As narrative it drags, and as poetry it lacks distinction.[13]

All of which brings us to the periphery of the theme, to things such as Washington Irving's short story-cum-essay, Don Juan: A Spectral Research, or to Juanita Tanner's Intelligent Man's Guide to Marriage and Celibacy (1929). "Juanita" is the daughter of Shaw's John Tanner of Man and Superman, and the title of the pseudonymous volume is modelled on G. B. S.'s Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism (1928). Despite the tendency of these sociological treatises to age rapidly, it comes off still as a fairly serious yet witty discussion of sex from the feminine viewpoint.

We can but note in passing how Don Juan has served as a nom de plume

for several American writers, and how wristwatches, razor blades, belts, suspenders, neckties, and even uranium mines have also borne his magic name in the United States.[14] Such echoes of the name may add little to its luster, but they furnish curious confirmation of its spread and power.

There has also been a considerable body of critical literature concerning the Don Juan theme in this country. The earliest important contribution, Samuel Waxman's general study with accompanying bibliography, would not rate very high in today's terms, but it was an American milestone in 1908. Since then have come hundreds of articles on Mozart, Molière, Zorrilla, etc., eight doctoral dissertations on the basic theme or particular versions of it.[15] Steffan and Pratt's monumental four-volume edition of Byron's Don Juan (1957), Leo Weinstein's recent Metamorphoses of Don Juan, much of all this high in caliber. America has come of age in its Don Juan criticism, even if it has rarely been first with the definitive studies in the field.

Thus, Don Juan arrived early in the history of America--almost during the nascent days of the Republic--but found it not particularly fertile terrain for conquest. Not that he failed to try: novels and short stories; lyric and narrative poetry; motion pictures; music of many sorts; drama (ranging from pantomime and farce to high tragedy); ballet; opera; even painting; large areas of criticism--all these fields he assayed or provided with a temporary home. But where are the American counterparts to the creations of Tirso, Molière, Mozart, Gluck, Byron, Browning, Espronceda, Zorrilla, Pushkin, Kierkegaard? Our really great authors have pretty well eschewed Don Juan. Hemingway and Faulkner have ignored him, as did Melville, Whitman, and Twain. Hawthorne, Poe, and especially Longfellow, might well have used the legend (the latter not only taught Spanish literature but adapted old Spanish stories). But they did not. The theme touched Washington Irving lightly and F. Scott Fitzgerald obliquely. And that is all.

Yet it has been a popular theme, in more ways than one. Some fifty out of sixteen hundred or so known Don Juan versions are American, not a low percentage considering the short years of his stay here. And just as his name has entered the Spanish language, so, as "Don Wahn," he has become in the United States, like Casanova, synonymous with assertive male promiscuity. What he has failed to do is to grip our imaginations. It is difficult to picture here in America Don Juan's story repeated from churchyard to churchyard, from town to town, over the length and breadth of the land as a sort of morality and miracle drama around All Souls' Day, the way it is throughout the Spanish world. The theme is basically European; with us it is necessarily alien. Don Juan has always been most at home in Spain, where it is said that he represents the secret ideal of every male Spaniard. Indeed, this devil-tainted figure has always been too suspect for Victorian America to clasp overtly and unashamedly unto her bosom. He remains, after all, a ripple from a distant flood of interest. There is no danger of a tidal wave.

NOTES

1. By "American" I mean primarily the United States. There is not space here to treat of Don Juan's considerable Latin-American vogue; Canada has furnished us with an interminable, rambling poem by Maurice Hébert, Le Cycle de Don Juan (1937-1949), and a play by Jacques Ferron, Le Cheval de Don Juan (1957). I do not know of any others.

   Throughout this paper, bibliographical data for versions cited has intentionally been left incomplete in an effort to conserve space. For details please refer to the author's Bibliography of the Don Juan Theme (Morgantown, West Va., 1954) and the three supplements: West Va. Univ. Philological Papers, X (1956), 1-36; ibid., XI (1958), 42-66; XII (Nov. 1959), 44-68. Mention has been made of most of the fifty or more versions listed in these four bibliographies.
2. For information on performances of this drama and others mentioned below, see George C. D. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage, Vols. I-VII (New York, 1927-1931); Thomas Clark Pollock, The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century, Together with the "Day Book" of the Same Period (Philadelphia; 1933); Reese D. James, Old Drury of Philadelphia, A History of the Philadelphia Stage, 1800-1835 (Philadelphia, 1932); Arthur Herman Wilson, A History of the Philadelphia Theatre, 1835 to 1855 (Philadelphia, 1935); W. Stanley Hoole, The Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre (Tuscaloosa, 1946). James' volume includes some data on the related theaters of Baltimore, Washington, and Alexandria. As all five compilations are fully indexed, I need not cite pages for the performances noted therein; however, there were several different Don Juan versions current for some seasons, and it is not always certain to which production reference is being made.
3. The first parody of the original Mozart-Da Ponte opera in English, it appeared on the London stage in 1817, the same year Da Ponte's libretto was first translated into that language. For the initial Philadelphia performance, see James, pp. 44-45.
4. For details of the various Mozart performances see Pitts Sanborn in the Mozart Handbook, ed. Louis Biancolli (Cleveland and New York, 1954), pp. 248-249. Among noteworthy Metropolitan productions we must not fail to mention that of January 2, 1899, with Lillian Nordica, Marcella Sembrich, Lilli Lehmann, and Édouard de Reszké. A cast of this calibre could not be assembled today for a king's ransom. The opera must have met with public favor to have deserved such performers. Maretzek himself observed in 1855: "Let me tell you that the Don Giovanni had the greatest success of any opera which has been brought forward, in my time, in America" (cited in Biancolli, p. 184). It was first given in English in 1837 (Wilson, p. 65), and in German in 1863. Bishop's English version was actually given at the Chatham Theater as late as May 29, 1862; see Alfred Loewenberg, Annals of Opera, 1597-1940, 2nd ed., rev. (Geneva, 1955), col. 456.
5. Opera News, XIX (Feb. 7, 1955), facing p. 1. For Philadelphia statistics,

see note 2, above. Prague, within a hundred years of the first performance of Don Giovanni, saw 531 more; Berlin witnessed 491; and Vienna, 472, according to Loewenberg, col. 448. But these latter figures represent conditions so different from those in New York that I give them merely as curiosities. In Charleston, South Carolina, Delpini's Don Juan played thirty-three times, from 1801 to 1855, seemingly as popular late in its career as early (see Hoole, note 2 above).

6. The first two are reported by Montague Summers in his ed. of the Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell (London, 1927), III, 16; the last two by Odell, IX (New York, 1937), 498, and XI (New York, 1939), 281. I have found no further reference to any of them. For other minor plays, see my bibliography, Nos. 245b, 423, 646, 745, 845 (a Byron satire by Meyer Lutz), 1348, and 1349. There was also The Sultana (1822), a three-act melodrama, adapted from Byron's Don Juan, Cantos III-V, possibly by Jonathan Bailey. Odell (VI, 54) mentions a New York performance of Don Giovanni in London, May 19, 1851 (perhaps Moncrieff's burlesque of Mozart: see my bibliog., No. 908), and another of some play simply referred to as Don Juan (IX, 48), Jan. 14, 1871.
7. Arthur H. Quinn, A History of the American Drama From The Civil War to the Present Day (New York, 1927, 1936), p. 204. Odell, XIV (N.Y., 1945), 549-550, and XV (N.Y., 1949), 208, follows its fortunes through the 1891-92 season as late as the week of Feb. 1-6.
8. My bibliography and supplements list motion pictures separately under "M."
9. See my bibliog., Nos. 395, 666a, 753a, 1108a, 1169a, and 1181a. Representation by the graphic arts has been far less even than music: see No. 988b, a watercolor by Siporin, the only example I know.
10. See Kemp, above, and Walter Owen's Don Juan Tenorio (1944), adapted from Zorrilla.
11. See also in my bibliog. Nos. 311, 646, and 1169b.
12. "Juan's Song," my No. 395a.
13. For other poems, see my Nos. 408, 517a, 666a, 1132a, and 1347.
14. These are listed separately in my bibliographies, under "Don Juan."
15. See Nos. 2189.3, 2418.33a, 2432.19, 2432.83, 4001b, 4204, 4298, and 4302.

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RECENT BOOKS IN THE FIELD OF GERMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Ernst Beutler, ed. Briefe aus dem Elternhaus. Zürich / Stuttgart, Artemis Verlag, 1959. Pp. 800. DM 27.80.

This, the first supplement to the 24-volume edition of Goethe's works, also edited by Beutler and published by the Artemis Verlag in 1949, contains not only letters from Goethe's mother, father, and other members of the family, but also sketches and album entries. From it, with the help of Beutler's 200-page introduction, we get our first clear picture of the father and of the Frankfurt of the period.

Max Brod. Verzweiflung und Erlösung im Werk Franz Kafkas. Frankfurt, S. Fischer, 1959. Pp. 88. DM 5.80.

Brod, in this slim but significant volume, presents Kafka as a religious poet, even though currently he is usually portrayed as a poet of despair. From an analysis of the works and drawing upon personal reminiscences, Brod attempts to refute the view of Kafka recently put forth by Uyttersprot and Martini.

Franz Dornseiff. Der deutsche Wortschatz nach Sachgruppen. 5th edition. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1959. Pp. 1088. DM 38.00.

Since the appearance of the first edition in 1933, Dornseiff's Wortschatz has come to be an almost indispensable reference tool. Most of our readers are familiar with the format of this German dictionary of synonyms; it is only necessary to point out that this new edition contains a most useful addition--an index. Since a majority of the words are listed under more than one heading, the value of this index is obvious. Using it, not only the denotations, but also the connotations of any vocabulary item, can be quickly ascertained.

Norbert Fürst. Grillparzer auf der Bühne. Wien / München, Manutiuspresse, 1958. Pp. 267.

In this volume Professor Fürst, of Indiana University, examines the problem of Grillparzer's mixed reception on the stage. He proves conclusively that the Austrian playwright has not been badly treated, particularly in recent years. Yet it is true that Grillparzer's plays have not been invariably successful in performance; Fürst attempts to explain some of the underlying causes leading to failure.

Ernst Grumach (ed.). Beiträge zur Goetheforschung. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1959. Pp. 289. DM 32.-

Since Professor Grumach has recently resigned his position as editor-in-chief of the edition of Goethe's works being published by the German Academy in Berlin, this volume, presenting the results of several investigations under-

taken in connection with the preparation of the Academy edition, offers much valuable information about the editing of Goethe texts. This is especially necessary because the eighteen volumes which have so far appeared contain little critical apparatus. The various contributors have examined numerous important problems, analyzing both manuscripts and early printed editions.

Richard Hamann und Jost Hermand. Naturalismus (Deutsche Kunst und Kultur von der Gründerzeit bis zum Expressionismus, Bd. II). Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1959. Pp. 336. DM 24.-

This second in a series of cultural histories attempts to describe and analyze an entire era, drawing upon a wide variety of examples from art and literature to illuminate the intellectual currents of the age. Defining "naturalism" as an activism reflecting far-reaching changes in society and politics, the book also points out clearly the relationship between Marxism and literature.

Rudolf Hemmerle. Franz Kafka: Eine Bibliographie. München, Robert Lerche Verlag, 1958. Pp. 138. DM 9.-

The most comprehensive Kafka bibliography yet to appear, this volume belongs in every research library. It is practically impossible to suggest the exhaustiveness of the compilation; it suffices to say that even American M. A. theses on Kafka are included. Seldom has a bibliography been compiled with such care and accuracy.

Walter Hinck. Die Dramaturgie des späten Brecht (Palaestra, Bd. 229). Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959. Pp. 172. DM 18.-

In this careful and systematic analysis Hinck investigates the development of Brecht's dramaturgy during and after the period of Emigration. An "open" and a "closed" dramaturgy are distinguished. From his study of the Brecht theater Hinck turns to the problems of the contemporary European and American theaters and draws several stimulating conclusions. With bibliography.

Ernst Jünger. Jahre der Okkupation. Stuttgart, Ernst Klett Verlag, 1958. Pp. 310. DM 17.80.

In this third volume of autobiographical material Jünger presents entries from his diary for the years 1945 through 1948, with emphasis on the earlier years. As indicated by the title, during this period not only Germany, but also Jünger, was "occupied." Although haphazard in arrangement, the volume is significant for its reflection of the author's personality and for giving much new biographical information.

Hermann Kunisch. Eckhart--Tauler--Seuse. Ein Textbuch aus der altdeutschen Mystik. Hamburg, Rowohlt, 1958. Pp. 152. DM 2.20.

As an introduction to the writings of the three great German mystics, Professor Kunisch offers, in his own translation into modern German, characteristic excerpts from the works of these men, complete with biographical

information and bibliographies. The text is fully annotated, explaining some of the more difficult terms and ideas expressed by the original authors.

Nikolaus Lenau. Sämtliche Werke--Briefe. Edited by Hermann Engelhard. Stuttgart, Cotta, 1959. Pp. 1152. DM 28.-

In this first complete edition of Lenau's works since 1923, Engelhard has brought together in one volume not only the total lyrical work (including fragments), but also a comprehensive selection of Lenau's letters. The latter nicely illustrate the life of the poet and give us a fascinating picture of Lenau's relationships with his contemporaries.

Otto Mann. Poetik der Tragödie. Bern, Francke, 1958. Pp. 344. S. Fr. 39.50

Mann, in this thoughtful and important book, analyzes the rules and practices of tragedy from its classical beginnings to the present. He believes that the Romanticists, in their concern with the philosophical bases of tragedy, brought forth only negative results. With a wealth of examples Mann examines all the problems of composing tragedy.

Walter Muschg. Die Zerstörung der deutschen Literatur. 3rd ed. Bern, Francke, 1958. Pp. 347. S. Fr. 18.50.

In a bitter attack on the present state of German letters and matters intellectual, Muschg, in this third, greatly expanded version of his controversial book, compares the situation to a tabula rasa. According to him, the "cold war" against human dignity can be observed everywhere; its ultimate goal is the complete annihilation of everything intellectual and creative. Germany, with its "economic miracle," shows this process most clearly.

Urban Roedl. Adalbert Stifter. Geschichte seines Lebens. Bern, Francke, 1958. Pp. 400. S. Fr. 23.50

This second edition of Roedl's life of Stifter represents a considerable improvement over the first, which in itself was the best and most readable biography to date. According to Roedl, Stifter was motivated chiefly by love of homeland and reminiscences of childhood, as well as by disappointment in love. Little documentation is given for these views, but this shortcoming may be readily overlooked in view of the general excellence of the book.

Franz Anselm Schmitt. Stoff- und Motivgeschichte der deutschen Literatur. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1959. Pp. 226.

Although Kurt Bauerhorst published in 1932 a compendium under a similar title, the present volume is but slightly indebted to its predecessor. In other words, Schmitt's bibliography is an essentially new compilation; its ca. 3,700 titles have resulted largely from Schmitt's own investigations. In addition, it is arranged strictly alphabetically, a great improvement over the earlier work. An indispensable reference work.

Karl Viëtor. Deutsches Dichten und Denken von der Aufklärung bis zum Realismus. 3rd ed. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1958. (Sammlung Göschen, B. 1096). Pp. 159. DM 3.60.

Presenting a survey of the history of German literature from Gottsched to Fontane, this volume, exemplary in its conciseness, should be welcomed by every Germanist. Especially notable are Viëtor's characterizations of individual writers and his ability to compress the content of a poetic work into the smallest possible space without doing violence to the theme.

Klaus Wagenbach. Franz Kafka. Eine Biographie seiner Jugend. Bern, Francke, 1958. Pp. 345.

This study, complementing Brod's biography, presents a great deal of original material concerning Kafka's life up to 1912. Since Kafka himself frequently refers to the influences of his childhood and adolescence, such biographical material is essential for an understanding of the poet's works. Not only is young Kafka fully described, but also the Prague of his childhood, the city so important to the development of the future poet.

Hans-Heinrich Wängler. Atlas deutscher Sprachlaute. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1958. Pp. 40. Pp. 40. DM 29.-

Wängler, in this significant volume, makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of German sounds and their formation. Principally by means of instantaneous X-ray photographs of the speech organs at the moment of articulation, he shows how the various German sounds are produced. Teachers of German, long lost in the jungle of undescriptive terminology, should welcome this clear explanation.

Franz Werfel. Die Dramen. (2 vols.). Frankfurt, S. Fischer, 1959. Pp. 1080. DM 48.-

For the first time all of Werfel's dramatic works have been brought together in this two-volume set. In addition to the early expressionistic dramas, the volumes contain such great religious and historical plays as "Das Reich Gottes in Böhmen" and "Juarez und Maximilian," both of which have recently experienced successful revivals on the German stage. Several previously unknown dramatic fragments are included.

Norman H. Binger

BOOKS RECEIVED

Annali, sezione romanza, acura di Giuseppe Carlo Rossi, Instituto Universitario Orientale, I, 2 (Napoli, 1959).

Eugenio Coseriu, Sincronía, diacronía e historia, El problema del cambio lingüístico (Montvideo, 1958).

Eugenio Coseriu, Logicismo y antilogicismo en la gramática, 2ª edición (Montevideo, 1958).

Neville Haddock, Practice in Spoken English (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

Guillermo Martínez Domínguez, 15 años de periodismo al servicio de México (México: Asociación Mexicana de Periodistas, 1958).

George Ross Ridge, The Hero in French Romantic Literature (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1959).

José Pedro Rona, Aspectos metodológicos de la dialectología hispanoamericana (Montevideo, 1958).

Albert A. Sicroff, Les Controverses des Statuts de "Pureté de sang" en Espagne du XVe au XVIIe Siècle, Etudes de Littérature étrangère et comparée (Paris: Didier, 1960).

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INDEX
to
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KENTUCKY FOREIGN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

INDEX FOR VOLUME VII (1960)

C30